Sri Sarfoji Rajah 1817
1544

DISSERTATIONS

AND

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES

RELATING TO THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES,

THE

ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE,

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

OF

ASIA.

BY

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T. TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.
1544

PREFACE.

IT is a conſideration which cannot but afford the utmoſt pleaſure to a reflecting mind, that the Arts and Sciences, which are rapidly advancing towards a ſtate of perfection in EUROPE, are not confined to that quarter of the globe. In the Eaſt, where Learning ſeemed to be extinguiſhed, and Civilization nearly loſt, amidſt the contention of avarice and deſpotiſm, a ſpirit of enquiry hath gone forth,

 which,

which, aided by the ardour of Philosophy, promises to dissipate the gloom of ignorance, and to spread the advantages of knowledge through a region where its effects may be expected to be most favourable to the general interests of society.

To the exertions of one Gentleman, whose various excellencies panegyric might display in the warmest terms, without being charged with extravagance, the ENGLISH settlements in the EAST INDIES are indebted for an institution which has already exhibited specimens of profound research, of bold investigation, and of happy illustration, in various subjects of literature;---subjects which, until the present times, had

had not exercifed the faculties of EUROPEANS; but which, being produced to publick notice, will enlarge the bounds of knowledge, increafe the ftock of information, and furnifh materials for future Philofophers, Biographers, and Hiftorians.

THAT fo much has been already atchieved by an infant Society, will be a fubject of furprize to thofe who have not confidered the powers of genius and induftry to overcome obftacles. From what has already appeared at CALCUTTA, a judgment may be formed of what may hereafter be expected. The ftores of Oriental Literature being now acceffible to thofe who have ability to make a proper ufe of them, intelli-

gence hitherto locked up, it may be hoped, will delight and inform the enquirers after the Hiſtory, Antiquities, Arts, Sciences, and Literature of ASIA.

Two Volumes of the Society's Tranſactions have been already publiſhed; but theſe have been ſo ſparingly diſtributed in GREAT BRITAIN that few have had the opportunity of being informed of their contents, or of judging of their value. This circumſtance has induced the Editor to ſelect the contents of the preſent volumes from them and the Aſiatic Miſcellany, for the amuſement and inſtruction of the publick. They are ſuch as will confer honour on their authors, and afford entertainment to their readers. They contain a noble

ſpecimen of the talents of our countrymen inhabiting a diſtant quarter of the globe, employing themſelves ſeduloully and honourably in extending the credit and eſtabliſhing the reputation of BRITONS in new and unexplored regions of Science and Literature.

THE

THE

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DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES,
THE
ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE,
OF
A S I A.

DISSERTATION I.

ON THE
GODS OF GREECE, ITALY, AND INDIA;
WRITTTEN IN MDCCLXXXIV.

WE cannot juſtly conclude, by arguments preceding the proof of facts, that one idolatrous people muſt have borrowed their deities, rites, and tenets from another; ſince Gods of all ſhapes and dimenſions may be framed by the boundleſs powers of imagination, or by the frauds and follies of men, in countries never connected; but when features of reſemblance, too ſtrong to have been accidental, are obſervable in different ſyſtems of polytheiſm, without fancy or prejudice to colour them and im-

prove the likeneſs, we can ſcarce help believing, that ſome connection has immemorially ſubſiſted between the ſeveral nations who have adopted them: it is my deſign in this eſſay to point out ſuch a reſemblance between the popular worſhip of the old *Greeks* and *Italians* and that of the *Hindus*; nor can there be room to doubt of a great ſimilarity between their ſtrange religions and that of *Egypt*, *China*, *Perſia*, *Phrygia*, *Phænice*, *Syria*; to which, perhaps, we may ſafely add ſome of the ſouthern kingdoms and even iſlands of *America*; while the *Gothick* ſyſtem, which prevailed in the northern regions of *Europe*, was not merely ſimilar to thoſe of *Greece* and *Italy*, but almoſt the ſame in another dreſs with an embroidery of images apparently *Aſiatick*. From all this, if it be ſatisfactorily proved, we may infer a general union or affinity between the moſt diſtinguiſhed inhabitants of the primitive world at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true God.

There ſeem to have been four principal ſources of all mythology. I. Hiſtorical, or natural, truth has been perverted into fable by ignorance, imagination, flattery, or ſtupidity; as a king of *Crete*, whoſe tomb had been diſcovered in that iſland, was conceived to have been the God of

Olympus,

Olympus, and MINOS, a legiflator of that country, to have been his fon, and to hold a fupreme appellate jurifdiction over departed fouls: hence too probably flowed the tale of CADMUS, as BOCHART learnedly traces it; hence beacons or volcanos became one-eyed giants and monfters vomiting flames; and two rocks, from their appearance to mariners in certain pofitions, were fuppofed to crufh all veffels attempting to pafs between them; of which idle fictions many other inftances might be collected from the *Odyffey* and the various *Argonautick* poems. The lefs we fay of *Julian* ftars, deifications of princes or warriors, altars raifed, with thofe of APOLLO, to the bafeft of men, and divine titles beftowed on fuch wretches as CAIUS OCTAVIANUS, the lefs we fhall expofe the infamy of grave fenators and fine poets, or the brutal folly of the low multitude: but we may be affured, that the mad apotheofis of truly great men, or of little men falfely called great, has been the origin of grofs idolatrous errors in every part of the pagan world. II. The next fource of them appears to have been a wild admiration of the heavenly bodies, and, after a time, the fyftems and calculations of aftronomers: hence came a confiderable portion of *Egyptian* and *Grecian* fable; the *Sabian* worfhip in *Arabia*; the *Perfian* types and emblems

of *Mihr* or the sun, and the far-extended adoration of the elements and the powers of nature; and hence perhaps all the artificial Chronology of the *Chinese* and *Indians*, with the invention of demigods and heroes to fill the vacant niches in their extravagant and imaginary periods. III. Numberless divinities have been created solely by the magic of poetry; whose essential business it is to personify the most abstract notions, and to place a nymph or a genius in every grove and almost in every flower: hence *Hygieia* and *Jaso*, health and remedy, are the poetical daughters of ÆSCULAPIUS, who was either a distinguished physician, or medical skill personified; and hence *Chloris*, or verdure, is married to the *Zephyr*. IV. The metaphors and allegories of moralists and metaphysicians have been also very fertile in Deities; of which a thousand examples might be adduced from PLATO, CICERO, and the inventive commentators on HOMER in their pedigrees of the Gods, and their fabulous lessons of morality: the richest and noblest stream from this abundant fountain is the charming philosophical tale of PSYCHE, or the *Progress of the Soul*; than which, to my taste, a more beautiful, sublime, and well-supported allegory was never produced by the wisdom and ingenuity of man. Hence also the *Indian* MA'YA', or, as the word is explained

plained by ſome *Hindu* ſcholars, “ the firſt in-
“ clination of the Godhead to diverſify himſelf
“ (ſuch is their phraſe) by creating worlds,”
is feigned to be the mother of univerſal nature, and of all the inferior Gods; as a *Caſhmirian* informed me when I aſked him, why CA'MA, or *Love*, was repreſented as her ſon; but the word MA'YA', or *deluſion*, has a more ſubtile and recondite ſenſe in the *Védánta* philoſophy, where it ſignifies the ſyſtem of *perceptions*, whether of ſecondary or of primary qualities, which the Deity was believed by EPICHARMUS, PLATO, and many truly pious men, to raiſe by his omnipreſent ſpirit in the minds of his creatures, but which had not, in their opinion, any exiſtence independent of mind.

IN drawing a parallel between the Gods of the *Indian* and *European* heathens, from whatever ſource they were derived, I ſhall remember, that nothing is leſs favourable to inquiries after truth than a ſyſtematical ſpirit, and ſhall call to mind the ſaying of a *Hindu* writer,
“ that whoever obſtinately adheres to any ſet
“ of opinions, may bring himſelf to believe
“ that the freſheſt ſandal-wood is a flame of
“ fire:” this will effectually prevent me from inſiſting that ſuch a God of *India* was *the* JUPITER of *Greece*; ſuch, *the* APOLLO; ſuch, *the* MERCURY: in fact, ſince all the cauſes of

 poly-

polytheiſm contributed largely to the aſſemblage of *Grecian* divinities (though BACON reduces them all to refined allegories, and NEWTON to a poetical diſguiſe of true hiſtory), we find many JOVES, many APOLLOS, many MERCURIES, with diſtinct attributes and capacities; nor ſhall I preſume to ſuggeſt more, than that, in one capacity or another, there exiſts a ſtriking ſimilitude between the chief objects of worſhip in ancient *Greece* or *Italy* and in the very intereſting country which we now inhabit.

THE compariſon which I proceed to lay before you, muſt needs be very ſuperficial, partly from my ſhort reſidence in *Hinduſtan*, partly from my want of complete leiſure for literary amuſements, but principally becauſe I have no *European* book to refreſh my memory of old fables, except the conceited, though not unlearned, work of POMEY, entitled *The Pantheon*, and that ſo miſerably tranſlated, that it can hardly be read with patience. A thouſand more ſtrokes of reſemblance might, I am ſure, be collected by any who ſhould with that view peruſe HESIOD, HYGINUS, CORNUTUS, and the other mythologiſts; or, which would be a ſhorter and a pleaſanter way, ſhould be ſatisfied with the very elegant *Syntagmata* of LILIUS GIRALDUS.

DIS-

Disquisitions concerning the manners and conduct of our ſpecies in early times, or indeed at any time, are always curious at leaſt and amuſing; but they are highly intereſting to ſuch as can ſay of themſelves with Chremes in the play, "We are men, and take an intereſt in all that relates to mankind:" They may even be of ſolid importance in an age when ſome intelligent and virtuous perſons are inclined to doubt the authenticity of the accounts, delivered by Moses, concerning the primitive world; ſince no modes or ſources of reaſoning can be unimportant which have a tendency to remove ſuch doubts. Either the firſt eleven chapters of *Geneſis*, all due allowances being made for a figurative Eaſtern ſtyle, are true, or the whole fabrick of our national religion is falſe; a concluſion which none of us, I truſt, would wiſh to be drawn. I, who cannot help believing the divinity of the Messiah, from the undiſputed antiquity and manifeſt completion of many propheſies, eſpecially thoſe of Isaiah, in the only perſon recorded by hiſtory to whom they are applicable, am obliged of courſe to believe the ſanctity of the venerable books, to which that ſacred perſon refers as genuine: but it is not the truth of our national religion, as ſuch, that I have at heart; it is truth itſelf; and if any cool unbiaſſed reaſoner

will clearly convince me that MOSES drew his narrative through *Egyptian* conduits from the primeval fountains of *Indian* literature, I ſhall eſteem him as a friend for having weeded my mind from a capital error, and promiſe to ſtand among the foremoſt in aſſiſting to circulate the truth, which he has aſcertained. After ſuch a declaration, I cannot but perſuade myſelf, that no candid man will be diſpleaſed if, in the courſe of my work, I make as free with any arguments that he may have advanced, as I ſhould really deſire him to do with any of mine that he may be diſpoſed to controvert. Having no ſyſtem of my own to maintain, I ſhall not purſue a very regular method, but ſhall take all the Gods, of whom I diſcourſe, as they happen to preſent themſelves; beginning, however, like the *Romans* and the *Hindus*, with JANUS or GANE'SA.

THE titles and attributes of this old *Italian* deity are fully compriſed in two choriambick verſes of SULPITIUS; and a farther account of him from OVID would here be ſuperfluous:

> Jane *pater*, Jane *tuens*, *dive biceps*, *biformis*,
> *O cate rerum ſator*, *O principium deorum!*

"Father JANUS, all-beholding JANUS, thou divinity with "two heads, and with two forms; O ſagacious planter of "all things, and leader of deities!"

HE

He was the God, we ſee, of *Wiſdom*; whence he is repreſented on coins with *two*, and on the *Hetruſcan* image found at *Faliſci* with *four* faces; emblems of prudence and circumſpection: thus is Gane'sa, the God of *Wiſdom* in *Hinduſtan*, painted with an *Elephant's* head, the ſymbol of ſagacious diſcernment, and attended by a favourite *rat*, which the *Indians* conſider as a wiſe and provident animal. His next great character (the plentiful ſource of many ſuperſtitious uſages) was that, from which he is emphatically ſtiled *the father*, and which the ſecond verſe before cited more fully expreſſes, *the origin and founder of all things*: whence this notion aroſe, unleſs from a tradition that he firſt built ſhrines, raiſed altars, and inſtituted ſacrifices, it is not eaſy to conjecture; hence it came, however, that his name was invoked before any other God; that, in the old ſacred rites, corn and wine, and, in later times, incenſe alſo, were firſt offered to Janus; that the *doors* or *entrances* to private houſes were called *Januæ*, and any pervious paſſage or thoroughfare, in the plural number, *Jani*, or *with two beginnings*; that he was repreſented holding a rod, as guardian of ways, and a key, as *opening*, not gates only, but *all important works and affairs* of mankind; that he was thought to preſide over the morning, or

beginning

beginning of day; that, although the *Roman* year began regularly with *March*, yet the eleventh month, named *Januarius*, was confidered as *firſt* of the twelve, whence the whole year was ſuppoſed to be under his guidance, and opened with great ſolemnity by the conſuls inaugurated in his fane, where his ſtatue was decorated on that occaſion with freſh laurel; and, for the ſame reaſon, a ſolemn denunciation of war, than which there can hardly be a more momentous national act, was made by the military conſul's opening the gates of his temple with all the pomp of his magiſtracy. The twelve altars and twelve chapels of JANUS might either denote, according to the general opinion, that he leads and governs twelve months, or that, as he ſays of himſelf in OVID, all entrance and acceſs muſt be made through him to the principal Gods, who were, to a proverb, of the ſame number. We may add, that JANUS was imagined to preſide over infants at their birth, or the *beginning* of life.

THE *Indian* divinity has preciſely the ſame character: all ſacrifices and religious ceremonies, all addreſſes even to ſuperior Gods, all ſerious compoſitions in writing, and all worldly affairs of moment, are begun by pious *Hindus* with an invocation of GANE'SA; a word compoſed of *íſa*, the *governor* or *leader*, and *gan'a*,

or

or *a company* of deities, *nine* of which companies are enumerated in the *Amarcósh*. Instances of opening business auspiciously by an ejaculation to the JANUS of *India* (if the lines of resemblance here traced will justify me in so calling him) might be multiplied with ease. Few books are begun without the words *salutation to* GANE'S, and he is first invoked by the *Bráhmans*, who conduct the trial by ordeal, or perform the ceremony of the *hóma*, or sacrifice to fire. M. SONNERAT represents him as highly revered on the coast of *Coromandel*; "where "the *Indians* (he says) would not on any ac-"count build a house without having placed "on the ground an image of this deity, which "they sprinkle with oil and adorn every day "with flowers; they set up his figure in all "their temples, in the streets, in the high "roads, and in open plains at the foot of some "tree; so that persons of all ranks may in-"voke him before they undertake any business, "and travellers worship him before they pro-"ceed on their journey." To this I may add, from my own observation, that in the commodious and useful town which now rises at *Dharmáranya* or *Gayà*, under the auspices of the active and benevolent THOMAS LAW, Esq. collector of *Rotas*, every new-built house, agreeably to an immemorial usage of the *Hindus*, has

has the name of GANE'SA ſuperſcribed on its door; and, in the old town, his image is placed over the gates of the temples.

WE come now to SATURN, the oldeſt of the pagan Gods, of whoſe office and actions much is recorded. The jargon of his being the ſon of Earth and of Heaven, who was the ſon of the Sky and the Day, is purely a confeſſion of ignorance who were his parents or who his predeceſſors; and there appears more ſenſe in the tradition ſaid to be mentioned by the inquiſitive and well-informed PLATO, "that both "SATURN, or *Time*, and his conſort CYBELE, "or the *Earth*, together with their attend-"ants, were the children of *Ocean* and THE-"TIS, or, in leſs poetical language, ſprang "from the waters of the great deep." CERES, the goddeſs of harveſts, was, it ſeems, their daughter; and VIRGIL deſcribes "the mo-"ther and nurſe of all as crowned with tur-"rets, in a car drawn by lions, and exult-"ing in her hundred grand-ſons, all divine, "all inhabiting ſplendid celeſtial manſions" As the God of time, or rather as *Time* itſelf perſonified, SATURN was uſually painted by the heathens holding a ſcythe in one hand, and in the other a ſnake with its tail in its mouth, the ſymbol of perpetual cycles and revolutions of ages; he was often repreſented in the act of devour-

devouring years, in the form of children, and, ſometimes, ncircled by the ſeaſons appearing like boys and girls. By the *Latins* he was named SATUNNUS; and the moſt ingenious etymology of that word is given by FESTUS the grammarian; who traces it, by a learned analogy to many ſimilar names, *à ſatu*, from planting, becauſe, when he reigned in *Italy*, he introduced and improved agriculture: but his diſtinguiſhing character, which explains, indeed, all his other titles and functions, was expreſſed allegorically by the ſtern of a ſhip or galley on the reverſe of his ancient coins; for which OVID aſſigns a very unſatisfactory reaſon, "becauſe the divine ſtranger arrived in a "ſhip on the *Italian* coaſt;" as if he could have been expected on horſe-back, or hovering through the air.

THE account, quoted by POMEY from ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, caſts a clearer light, if it really came from genuine antiquity, on the whole tale of SATURN; "that he predicted an "extraordinary fall of rain, and ordered the con- "ſtruction of a veſſel, in which it was neceſ- "ſary to ſecure men, beaſts, birds, and rep- "tiles from a general inundation."

NOW it ſeems not eaſy to take a cool review of all theſe teſtimonies concerning the birth,

birth, kindred, offspring, character, occupations, and entire life of SATURN, without assenting to the opinion of BOCHART, or admitting it at least to be highly probable, that the fable was raised on the true history of NOAH; from whose flood a new period of *time* was computed, and a new series of ages may be said to have sprung; who rose fresh, and, as it were, newly born from the waves; whose wife was in fact the universal mother, and, that the earth might soon be repeopled, was early blessed with numerous and flourishing descendants: if we produce, therefore, an *Indian* king of divine birth, eminent for his piety and beneficence, whose story seems evidently to be that of NOAH disguised by *Asiatick* fiction, we may safely offer a conjecture, that he was also the same personage with SATURN. This was MENU, or SATYAVRATA, whose patronymick name was VAIVASWATA, or Child of the SUN; and whom the *Indians* believe to have reigned over the whole world in the earliest age of their chronology, but to have resided in the country of *Dravira*, on the coast of the Eastern *Indian* Peninsula: the following narrative of the principal event in his life I have literally translated from the *Bhágavat*; and it is the subject of the first *Purána*, entitled that of the *Matsya*, or *Fish*.

'DE-

'DESIRING the preſervation of herds, and
'of *Bráhmans*, of genii and virtuous men, of
'the *Védas*, of law, and of precious things,
'the lord of the univerſe aſſumes many bodily
'ſhapes; but, though he pervades, like the
'air, a variety of beings, yet he is himſelf
'unvaried, ſince he has no quality ſubject to
'change. At the cloſe of the laſt *Calpa*,
'there was a general deſtruction occaſioned by
'the ſleep of BRAHMA'; whence his creatures
'in different worlds were drowned in a vaſt
'ocean. BRAHMA', being inclined to ſlum-
'ber, deſiring repoſe after a lapſe of ages, the
'ſtrong demon HAYAGRI'VA came near him,
'and ſtole the *Védas*, which had flowed from
'his lips. When HERI, the preſerver of the
'univerſe, diſcovered this deed of the Prince
'of *Dánavas*, he took the ſhape of a minute
'fiſh, called *ſap'harì*. A holy king, named
'SATYAVRATA, then reigned; a ſervant of
'the ſpirit, which moved on the waves, and
'ſo devout, that water was his only ſuſte-
'nance. He was the child of the Sun, and, in
'the preſent *Calpa*, is inveſted by NARA'YAN
'in the office of *Menu*, by the name of
'SRA'DDHADE'VA, or the God of Obſequies.
'One day, as he was making a libation in the
'river *Critamálà*, and held water in the palm
'of his hand, he perceived a ſmall fiſh moving

'in it. The king of *Dravira* immediately
'dropped the fiſh into the river together with
'the water, which he had taken from it;
'when the *ſap'harì* thus pathetically addreſſed
'the benevolent monarch: "How canſt thou,
"O king, who ſhoweſt affection to the op-
"preſſed, leave me in this river-water, where
"I am too weak to reſiſt the monſters of the
"ſtream, who fill me with dread?" He, not
'knowing who had aſſumed the form of a fiſh,
'applied his mind to the preſervation of the
'*ſap'harì*, both from good-nature and from re-
'gard to his own ſoul; and, having heard its
'very ſuppliant addreſs, he kindly placed it
'under his protection in a ſmall vaſe full of
'water; but, in a ſingle night, its bulk was
'ſo increaſed, that it could not be contained in
'the jar, and thus again addreſſed the illuſ-
'trious Prince: "I am not pleaſed with living
"miſerably in this little vaſe; make me a large
"manſion, where I may dwell in comfort."
'The king, removing it thence, placed it in
'the water of a ciſtern; but it grew three cu-
'bits in leſs than fifty minutes, and ſaid:
"O king, it pleaſes me not to ſtay vainly in
"this narrow ciſtern: ſince thou haſt granted
"me an aſylum, give me a ſpacious habita-
"tion." He then removed it, and placed it
'in

'in a pool, where, having ample ſpace around
'its body, it became a fiſh of conſiderable
'ſize. "This abode, O king, is not conve-
"nient for me, who muſt ſwim at large in the
"waters: exert thyſelf for my ſafety, and re-
"move me to a deep lake." Thus addreſſed,
'the pious monarch threw the ſuppliant into a
'lake, and when it grew of equal bulk with
'that piece of water, he caſt the vaſt fiſh into
'the ſea. When the fiſh was thrown into the
'waves, he thus again ſpoke to SATYAVRA-
'TA: "Here the horned ſharks, and other
"monſters of great ſtrength will devour me;
"thou ſhouldſt not, O valiant man, leave me
"in this ocean." Thus repeatedly deluded by
'the fiſh, who had addreſſed him with gentle
'words, the king ſaid: "Who art thou, that
"beguileſt me in that aſſumed ſhape? Never
"before have I ſeen or heard of ſo prodigious
"an inhabitant of the waters, who, like thee,
"has filled up, in a ſingle day, a lake an hun-
"dred leagues in circumference. Surely, thou
"art BHAGAVAT, who appeareſt before me;
"the great HERI, whoſe dwelling was on the
"waves; and who now, in compaſſion to thy
"ſervants, beareſt the form of the natives of
"the deep. Salutation and praiſe to thee, O
"firſt male, the lord of creation, of pre-
"ſervation, of deſtruction! Thou art the

"highest object, O supreme ruler, of us "thy adorers, who piously seek thee. All "thy delusive descents in this world give "existence to various beings: yet I am anxious "to know, for what cause that shape has been "assumed by thee. Let me not, O lotos-"eyed, approach in vain the feet of a deity, "whose perfect benevolence has been extended "to all; when thou hast shown us to our amaze-"ment the appearance of other bodies, not in "reality existing, but successively exhibited."
'The lord of the universe, loving the pious 'man who thus implored him, and intend-'ing to preserve him from the sea of destruc-'tion, caused by the depravity of the age, thus 'told him how he was to act. "In seven "days from the present time, O thou tamer "of enemies, the three worlds will be plunged "in an ocean of death; but, in the midst of "the destroying waves, a large vessel, sent by "me for thy use, shall stand before thee. "Then shalt thou take all medicinal herbs, all "the variety of seeds, and, accompanied by "seven saints, encircled by pairs of all brute "animals, thou shalt enter the spacious ark, "and continue in it, secure from the flood, on "one immense ocean without light, except "the radiance of thy holy companions. When "the ship shall be agitated by an impetuous "wind,

" wind, thou ſhalt faſten it with a large ſea-
" ſerpent on my horn; for I will be near thee:
" drawing the veſſel, with thee and thy attend-
" ants, I will remain on the ocean, O chief of
" men, until a night of BRAHMA' ſhall be com-
" pletely ended. Thou ſhalt then know my true
" greatneſs, rightly named the ſupreme God-
" head; by my favour, all thy queſtions ſhall
" be anſwered, and thy mind abundantly in-
" ſtructed." HERI, having thus directed the
' monarch, diſappeared; and SATYAVRATA
' humbly waited for the time, which the ruler
' of our ſenſes had appointed. The pious
' king, having ſcattered toward the Eaſt the
' pointed blades of the graſs *darbha*, and turn-
' ing his face toward the North, ſat medita-
' ting on the feet of the God, who had borne
' the form of a fiſh. The ſea overwhelming
' its ſhores, deluged the whole earth; and it
' was ſoon perceived to be augmented by
' ſhowers from immenſe clouds. He, ſtill
' meditating on the command of BHAGAVAT,
' ſaw the veſſel advancing, and entered it with
' the chiefs of *Bráhmans*, having carried into
' it the medicinal creepers, and conformed to
' the directions of HERI. The ſaints thus ad-
' dreſſed him: " O king, meditate on CE'-
" SAVA; who will, ſurely, deliver us from
" this danger, and grant us proſperity." The

 ' God,

'God, being invoked by the monarch, ap-
'peared again diſtinctly on the vaſt ocean in the
'form of a fiſh, blazing like gold, extending a
'million of leagues, with one ſtupendous horn;
'on which the king, as he had before been
'commanded by HERI, tied the ſhip with a
'cable made of a vaſt ſerpent, and happy in
'his preſervation, ſtood praiſing the deſtroyer
'of MADHU. When the monarch had finiſhed
'his hymn, the primeval male, BHAGAVAT,
'who watched for his ſafety on the great ex-
'panſe of water, ſpoke aloud to his own di-
'vine eſſence, pronouncing a ſacred *Purána*,
'which contained the rules of the *Sánc'hya*
'philoſophy: but it was an infinite myſtery, to
'be concealed within the breaſt of SATYA-
'VRATA; who, ſitting in the veſſel with the
'ſaints, heard the principle of the ſoul, the
'Eternal Being, proclaimed by the preſerving
'power. Then HERI, riſing together with
'BRA'HMA from the deſtructive deluge, which
'was abated, ſlew the demon HAYAGRI'VA;
'and recovered the ſacred books. SATYA-
'VRATA, inſtructed in all divine and human
'knowledge, was appointed in the preſent
'*Calpa*, by the favour of VISHNU, the ſeventh
'MENU, ſurnamed VAIVASWATA: but the
'appearance of a horned fiſh to the religious
'monarch was *Máyá*, or deluſion; and he
'who

'who ſhall devoutly hear this important alle-
'gorical narrative, will be delivered from the
'bondage of ſin.'

THIS epitome of the firſt *Indian* Hiſtory that is now extant, appears to me very curious and very important; for the ſtory, though whimſically dreſſed up in the form of an allegory, ſeems to prove a primeval tradition in this country of the *univerſal deluge* deſcribed by MOSES, and fixes conſequently the *time*, when the genuine *Hindu* Chronology actually begins. We find, it is true, in the *Purán*, from which the narrative is extracted, *another deluge*, which happened towards the cloſe of the *third* age, when YUDHISHTH'IR was labouring under the perſecution of his inveterate foe DURYHO'DAN, and when CHRISHNA, who had recently become incarnate for the purpoſe of ſuccouring the pious and of deſtroying the wicked, was performing wonders in the country of *Mat'hurà*; but the ſecond flood was merely *local*, and intended only to affect the people of *Vraja*: they, it ſeems, had offended INDRA, the God of the firmament, by their enthuſiaſtic adoration of the wonderful child, "who lifted up the
"mountain *Goverdhena* as if it had been a
"flower, and by ſheltering all the herdſmen
"and ſhepherdeſſes from the ſtorm, convinced
"INDRA of his ſupremacy." That the *Satya*,

or (if we may venture ſo to call it) the *Saturnian*, age was in truth the age of the *general* flood, will appear from a cloſe examination of the ten *Avatárs*, or *Deſcents*, of the deity in his capacity of preſerver; ſince of the four, which are declared to have happened in the *Satyayug*, the *three firſt* apparently relate to ſome ſtupendous convulſion of our globe from the fountains of the deep, and the fourth exhibits the miraculous puniſhment of pride and impiety. Firſt, as we have ſhown, there was, in the opinion of the *Hindus*, an interpoſition of Providence to preſerve a devout perſon and his family (for all the *Pandits* agree, that his wife, though not named, muſt be underſtood to have been ſaved with him) from an inundation, by which all the wicked were deſtroyed; next, the power of the deity deſcends in the form of a *Boar*, the ſymbol of ſtrength, to draw up and ſupport on his tuſks the whole earth, which had been ſunk beneath the ocean; thirdly, the ſame power is repreſented as a *tortoiſe* ſuſtaining the globe, which had been convulſed by the violent aſſaults of demons, while the Gods churned the ſea with the mountain *Mandar*, and forced it to diſgorge the ſacred things and animals, together with the water of life, which it had ſwallowed. Theſe three ſtories relate, I think, to the ſame event, ſhadowed by a moral,

ral, a metaphyſical, and an aſtronomical allegory; and all three ſeem connected with the hieroglyphical ſculptures of the old *Egyptians*. The fourth *Avatár* was a *lion* iſſuing from a burſting column of marble to devour a blaſpheming monarch, who would otherwiſe have ſlain his religious ſon; and of the remaining ſix, not one has the leaſt relation to a deluge: the three, which are aſcribed to the *Trétáyug*, when tyranny and irreligion are ſaid to have been introduced, were ordained for the overthrow of tyrants, or, their natural types, giants with a thouſand arms formed for the moſt extenſive oppreſſion; and, in the *Dwáparyug*, the incarnation of CRISHNA was partly for a ſimilar purpoſe, and partly with a view to thin the world of unjuſt and impious men, who had multiplied in that age, and began to ſwarm on the approach of the *Caliyug*, or the age of *contention* and baſeneſs. As to BUDDHA, he ſeems to have been a reformer of the doctrines contained in the *Védas*; and though his good-nature led him to cenſure thoſe antient books, becauſe they enjoined ſacrifices of cattle, yet he is admitted as the ninth *Avatár* even by the *Bráhmans* of *Cásì*, and his praiſes are ſung by the poet JAYADE'VA: his character is in many reſpects very extraordinary; but as an account of it belongs rather to Hiſtory than to Mytho-

logy, it is reſerved for another Diſſertation. The tenth *Avatár*, we are told, is yet to come, and is expected to appear mounted (like the crowned conqueror in the *Apocalyps*) on a white horſe, with a cimeter blazing like a comet to mow down all incorrigible and impenitent offenders, who ſhall then be on earth.

THESE four *Yugs* have ſo apparent an affinity with the *Grecian* and *Roman* ages, that one origin may be naturally aſſigned to both ſyſtems: the firſt in both is diſtinguiſhed as abounding in *gold*, though *Satya* mean *truth* and *probity*, which were found, if ever, in the times immediately following ſo tremendous an exertion of the divine power as the deſtruction of mankind by a general deluge; the next is characteriſed by *ſilver*, and the third by *copper*; though their uſual names allude to proportions imagined in each between vice and virtue: the preſent, or *earthen*, age ſeems more properly diſcriminated than by *iron*, as in antient *Europe*; ſince that metal is not baſer or leſs uſeful, though more common in our times, and conſequently leſs precious than copper; while mere *earth* conveys an idea of the loweſt degradation. We may here obſerve, that the true Hiſtory of the World ſeems obviouſly diviſible into *four* ages or periods; which may be called, firſt, the *Diluvian* or pureſt age; namely, the times

preced-

preceding the deluge, and thoſe ſucceeding it till the mad introduction of idolatry at *Babel*; next, the *Patriarchal*, or pure age; in which, indeed, there were mighty hunters of beaſts and of men, from the riſe of patriarchs in the family of SEM, to the ſimultaneous eſtabliſhment of great empires by the deſcendants of his brother HA'M; thirdly, the *Moſaick*, or leſs pure age, from the legation of MOSES, and during the time when his ordinances were comparatively well-obſerved and uncorrupted; laſtly, the *Prophetical*, or *impure*, age, beginning with the vehement warnings given by the Prophets to apoſtate Kings and degenerate nations, but ſtill ſubſiſting and to ſubſiſt, until all genuine propheſies ſhall be fully accompliſhed. The duration of the hiſtorical ages muſt needs be very unequal and diſproportionate; while that of the *Indian Yugs* is diſpoſed ſo regularly and artificially, that it cannot be admitted as natural or probable: men do not become reprobate in a geometrical progreſſion, or at the termination of regular periods; yet ſo well proportioned are the *Yugs*, that even the length of human life is diminiſhed, as they advance, from an hundred thouſand years in a ſubdecuple ratio; and as the number of principal *Avatárs* in each decreaſes arithmetically from four, ſo the number of years in each de-

creaſes

creases geometrically, and all together constitute the extravagant sum of four million three hundred and twenty thousand years; which aggregate, multiplied by seventy-one, is the period in which every MENU is believed to preside over the world. Such a period, one might conceive, would have satisfied ARCHYTAS, the *measurer of sea and earth, and the numberer of their sands*, or ARCHIMEDES, who invented a notation that was capable of expressing the number of them; but the comprehensive mind of an *Indian* chronologist has no limits; and the reigns of fourteen MENUS are only a single day of BRAHMA', fifty of which days have elapsed, according to the *Hindus*, from the time of the Creation. That all this puerility, as it seems at first view, may be only an astronomical riddle, and allude to the apparent revolution of the fixed stars, of which the *Bráhmans* made a mystery, I readily admit, and am even inclined to believe; but so technical an arrangement excludes all idea of serious History. I am sensible how much these remarks will offend the warm advocates for *Indian* antiquity; but we must not sacrifice truth to a base fear of giving offence. That the *Vedas* were actually written before the flood I shall never believe; nor can we infer from the preceding story, that the learned *Hindus* believe it; for the allegorical

slum-

ſlumber of BRAHMA' and the theft of the ſacred books mean only, in ſimpler language, that *the human race was become corrupt*; but that the *Védas* are very antient, and far older than other *Sanſcrit* compoſitions, I will venture to aſſert from my own examination of them, and a compariſon of their ſtyle with that of the *Puráńs* and the *Dherma Sáſtra*. A ſimilar compariſon juſtifies me in pronouncing, that the excellent law-book aſcribed to SWA'YAMBHUVA MENU, though not even pretended to have been written by him, is more antient than the BHA'GAVAT; but that it was compoſed in the firſt age of the world, the *Bráhmans* would find it hard to perſuade me; and the date, which has been aſſigned to it, does not appear in either of the two copies which I poſſeſs, or in any other that has been collated for me: in fact, the ſuppoſed date is compriſed in a verſe which flatly contradicts the work itſelf; for it was not MENU who compoſed the ſyſtem of law, by the command of his father BRAHMA', but a holy perſonage or demigod, named BHRIGU, who revealed to men what MENU had delivered at the requeſt of him and other ſaints or patriarchs. In the *Mánava Sáſtra*, to conclude this digreſſion, the meaſure is ſo uniform and melodious, and the ſtyle ſo perfectly *Sanſcrit* or *Poliſhed*, that the book muſt be more modern

than

than the ſcriptures of MOSES, in which the ſimplicity, or rather nakedneſs, of the *Hebrew* dialect, metre, and ſtyle, muſt convince every unbiaſſed man of their ſuperior antiquity.

I LEAVE etymologiſts, who decide every thing, to decide whether the word MENU, or, in the nominative caſe, MENUS, has any connection with MINOS, the Lawgiver, and ſuppoſed ſon of JOVE: the *Cretans*, according to DIODORUS of *Sicily*, uſed to feign, that moſt of the great men who had been deified in return for the benefits which they had conferred on mankind, were born in their iſland; and hence a doubt may be raiſed, whether MINOS was really a *Cretan*. The *Indian* legiſlator was the firſt, not the ſeventh MENU, or SATYAVRATA, whom I ſuppoſe to be the SATURN of *Italy*: part of SATURN's character, indeed was that of a great lawgiver,

> *Qui genus indocile ac diſperſum montibus altis*
> *Compoſuit*, legeſque dedit;

and we may ſuſpect, that all the fourteen MENUS are reducible to one, who was called NUH by the *Arabs*, and probably by the *Hebrews*, though we have diſguiſed his name by an improper pronunciation of it. Some near relation between the ſeventh MENU and the *Grecian* MINOS may be inferred from the ſingular

character

character of the *Hindu* God YAMA, who was alſo a child of the Sun, and thence named VAIVASWATA: he had too the ſame title with his brother SRA'DDHADE'VA; another of his titles was DHERMARA'JA, or *King of Juſtice*; and a third, PITRIPETI, or *Lord of the Patriarchs*; but he is chiefly diſtinguiſhed as *judge of departed ſouls*; for the *Hindus* believe, that when a ſoul leaves its body, it immediately repairs to *Yamapur*, or the city of YAMA, where it receives a juſt ſentence from him, and either aſcends to *Swerga*, or the firſt heaven, or is driven down to *Narac*, the region of ſerpents, or aſſumes on earth the form of ſome animal, unleſs its offence had been ſuch, that it ought to be condemned to a vegetable, or even to a mineral, priſon. Another of his names is very remarkable: I mean that of CA'LA, or *time*, the idea of which is intimately blended with the characters of SATURN and of NOAH; for the name CRONOS has a manifeſt affinity with the word *chronos*; and a learned follower of ZERA'TUSHT aſſures me, that in the books which the *Behdíns* hold ſacred, mention is made of an *univerſal inundation*, there named the deluge of TIME.

IT having been occaſionally obſerved, that CERES was the poetical daughter of SATURN, we cannot cloſe this head without adding, that the

the *Hindus* alſo have their *Goddeſs of Abundance*, whom they uſually call LACSHMI', and whom they conſider as the daughter (not of MENU, but) of BHRIGU, by whom the firſt Code of ſacred ordinances was promulgated: ſhe is alſo named PEDMA' and CAMALA' from the ſacred LOTOS or *Nymphæa*; but her moſt remarkable name is SRI', or, in the firſt caſe, SRI'S; which has a reſemblance to the *Latin*, and means *fortune* or *proſperity*. It may be contended, that, although LACSHMI' may be figuratively called the CERES of *Hinduſtan*, yet any two or more idolatrous nations, who ſubſiſted by agriculture, might naturally conceive a Deity to preſide over their labours, without having the leaſt intercourſe with each other; but no reaſon appears, why two nations ſhould concur in ſuppoſing that Deity to be a female: one at leaſt of them would be more likely to imagine, that the *Earth* was a Goddeſs, and that the God of abundance rendered her fertile. Beſides, in very ancient temples near *Gayá*, we ſee images of LACSHMI', with full breaſts and a *cord* twiſted under her arm like a *horn of plenty*, which look very much like the old *Grecian* and *Roman* figures of CERES.

THE fable of SATURN having been thus analyſed, let us proceed to his deſcendants; and begin, as the Poet adviſes, with JUPITER,

whoſe

whoſe ſupremacy, thunder, and libertiniſm, every boy learns from OVID; while his great offices of Creator, Preſerver, and Deſtroyer, are not generally conſidered in the ſyſtems of *European* mythology. The *Romans* had, as we have before obſerved, many JUPITERS, one of whom was only the *Firmament* perſonified, as ENNIUS clearly expreſſes it:

Aſpice hoc ſublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem.

This JUPITER or DIESPITER, is the *Indian* God of the viſible heavens, called INDRA, or the *King*, and DIVESPETIR, or *Lord of the Sky*, who has alſo the character of the *Roman* GENIUS, or Chief of the good ſpirits; but moſt of his epithets in *Sanſcrit* are the ſame with thoſe of the *Ennian* JOVE. His conſort is named SACHI'; his celeſtial city, *Amarávatì*; his palace, *Vaijayanta*; his garden, *Nandana*; his chief elephant, *Airávat*; his charioteer, MATA'LI; and his weapon, *Vajra*, or the thunderbolt: he is the regent of winds and ſhowers, and, though the Eaſt is peculiarly under his care, yet his *Olympus* is *Méru*, or the north pole allegorically repreſented as a mountain of gold and gems. With all his power he is conſidered as a ſubordinate Deity, and far inferior to the *Indian* Triad, BRAHMA', VISH-

NU,

NU, and MAHA'DEVA or SIVA, who are three *forms* of one and the ſame Godhead: thus the principal divinity of the *Greeks* and *Latians*, whom they called ZEUS and JUPITER with irregular inflexions DIOS and JOVIS, was not merely *Fulminator*, the Thunderer, but, like the deſtroying power of *India*, MAGNUS DIVUS, ULTOR, GENITOR; like the preſerving power, CONSERVATOR, SOTER, OPITULUS, ALTOR, RUMINUS; and like the creating power, the *Giver of Life*; an attribute, which I mention here on the authority of CORNUTUS, a conſummate maſter of mythological learning. We are adviſed by PLATO himſelf to ſearch for the roots of *Greek* words in ſome barbarous, that is, foreign ſoil; but, ſince I look upon etymological conjectures as a weak baſis for hiſtorical enquiries, I hardly dare ſuggeſt, that ZEV, SIV, and JOV, are the ſame ſyllable differently pronounced: it muſt, however be admitted, that the *Greeks* having no palatial *ſigma*, like that of the *Indians*, might have expreſſed it by their *zeta*, and that the initial letters of *zugon* and *jugum* are (as the inſtance proves) eaſily interchangeable.

LET us now deſcend, from theſe general and introductory remarks, to ſome particular obſervations on the reſemblance of ZEUS or JUPITER

JUPITER to the triple divinity VISHNU, SIVA, BRAHMA'; for that is the order in which they are expreſſed by the letters A, U, and M, which coaleſce and form the myſtical word O'M; a word which never eſcapes the lips of a pious *Hindu*, who meditates on it in ſilence: whether the *Egyptian* ON, which is commonly ſuppoſed to mean the Sun, be the *Sanſcrit* monoſyllable, I leave others to determine. It muſt always be remembered, that the learned *Indians*, as they are inſtructed by their own books, in truth acknowledge only One Supreme Being, whom they call BRAHME, or THE GREAT ONE, in the neuter gender: they believe his Eſſence to be infinitely removed from the comprehenſion of any mind but his own; and they ſuppoſe him to manifeſt his power by the operation of his divine ſpirit, whom they name VISHNU, the *Pervader*, and NA'RA'YAN, or *Moving on the waters*, both in the maſculine gender, whence he is often denominated the *Firſt Male*; and by this power they believe, that the whole order of nature is preſerved and ſupported; but the *Vedántis*, unable to form a diſtinct idea of brute matter independent of mind, or to conceive that the work of Supreme Goodneſs was left a moment to itſelf, imagine that the Deity is ever preſent to

his work, and conſtantly ſupports a ſeries of perceptions, which, in one ſenſe, they call *illuſory*, though they cannot but admit the *reality* of all created forms; as far as the happineſs of creatures can be affected by them. When they conſider the divine power exerted in *creating*, or in giving exiſtence to that which exiſted not before, they call the Deity BRAHMA′ in the maſculine gender alſo; and when they view him in the light of *Deſtroyer*, or rather *Changer* of forms, they give him a thouſand names, of which SIVA, I′SA or I′SWARA, RUDRA, HARA, SAMBHU, and MAHA′DE′VA or MAHE′SA, are the moſt common. The firſt operations of theſe three *Powers* are variouſly deſcribed in the different *Purànas* by a number of allegories, and from them we may deduce the *Ionian* Philoſophy of *primeval water*, the doctrine of the Mundane Egg, and the veneration paid to the *Nymphœa*, or *Lotos*, which was anciently revered in *Egypt*, as it is at preſent in *Hinduſtàn*, *Tibet*, and *Népal*: the *Tibetians* are ſaid to embelliſh their temples and altars with it, and a native of *Népal* made proſtrations before it on entering my ſtudy, where the fine plant and beautiful flowers lay for examination. Mr. HOLWELL, in explaining his firſt plate, ſuppoſes BRAHMA′ to be floating on a leaf of *betel* in the midſt of the abyſs;

abyſs; but it was manifeſtly intended by a bad painter for a lotos-leaf or for that of the *Indian* fig-tree; nor is the ſpecies of pepper, known in *Bengal* by the name of *Támbúla*, and on the coaſt of *Malabar* by that of *Betel*, held ſacred, as he aſſerts, by the *Hindus*, or neceſſarily cultivated under the inſpection of *Bráhmans*; though as the vines are tender, all the plantations of them are carefully ſecured, and ought to be cultivated by a particular tribe of *Súdras*, who are thence called *Támbúli's*.

THAT *water* was the primitive element and firſt work of the Creative Power, is the uniform opinion of the *Indian* Philoſophers; but, as they give ſo particular an account of the general deluge and of the Creation, it can never be admitted, that their whole ſyſtem aroſe from traditions concerning the Flood only, and muſt appear indubitable, that their doctrine is in part borrowed from the opening of *Birásít* or *Geneſis*, than which a ſublimer paſſage from the firſt word to the laſt, never flowed or will flow from any human pen: "*In the beginning* GOD "created the heavens and the earth.—And the "earth was void and waſte, and darkneſs was "on the face of the deep, and the Spirit of "GOD *moved upon* the face of the waters; and "GOD ſaid: *Let Light be*—and *Light was*." The ſublimity of this paſſage is conſiderably dimi-

niſhed by the *Indian* paraphraſe of it, with which MENU, the ſon of BRAHMA', begins his addreſs to the ſages, who conſulted him on the formation of the univerſe: " This world," ſays he, " was " all darkneſs, undiſcernible, undiſtinguiſhable, " altogether as in a profound ſleep; till the ſelf- " exiſtent inviſible GOD, making it manifeſt " with five elements and other glorious forms, " perfectly diſpelled the gloom. He, deſiring " to raiſe up various creatures by an emanation " from his own glory, firſt created the *waters*, " and impreſſed them with a power of mo- " tion: by that power was produced a golden " egg, blazing like a thouſand ſuns, in which " was born BRAHMA', ſelf-exiſting, the great " parent of all rational Beings. The waters " are called *nárà*, ſince they are the offspring " of NERA (or I'SWARA); and thence was " NA'RA'YANA named, becauſe his firſt *ayana*, " or *moving*, was on them.

" THAT WHICH IS, the inviſible cauſe, eter- " nal, ſelf-exiſting, but unperceived, becom- " ing maſculine *from neuter*, is celebrated " among all creatures by the name of BRAH- " MA'. That God, having dwelled in the " Egg, through revolving years, Himſelf me- " ditating on Himſelf, divided it into two equal " parts; and from thoſe halves formed the " heavens and the earth, placing in the midſt

" the

"the ſubtile ether, the eight points of the "world, and the permanent receptacle of "waters."

To this curious deſcription, with which the *Mánava Sáſtra* begins, I cannot refrain from ſubjoining the four verſes, which are the text of the *Bhágavat*, and are believed to have been pronounced by the Supreme Being to BRAHMÁ: the following verſion is moſt ſcrupulouſly literal.

"EVEN I was even at firſt, not any other "thing; that, which exiſts, unperceived; ſu- "preme: afterwards I AM THAT WHICH IS; "and he, who muſt remain, am I.

"EXCEPT the FIRST CAUSE, whatever "may appear, and may not appear, in the "mind, know that to be the mind's MA'YA', "(or *Deluſion*) as light, as darkneſs.

"As the great elements are in various be- "ings, entering, yet not entering (that is, "pervading, not deſtroying), thus am I in "them, yet not in them.

"EVEN thus far may enquiry be made by "him, who ſeeks to know the principle of "mind, in union and ſeparation, which muſt "be EVERY WHERE ALWAYS."

WILD and obſcure as theſe ancient verſes muſt appear in a naked verbal tranſlation, it

will perhaps be thought by many, that the poetry or mythology of *Greece* or *Italy* afford no conceptions more awfully magnificent: yet the brevity and ſimplicity of the *Moſaic* diction are unequalled.

As to the creation of the world, in the opinion of the *Romans*, OVID, who might naturally have been expected to deſcribe it with learning and elegance, leaves us wholly in the dark, *which of the Gods was the actor in it*: other Mythologiſts are more explicit; and we may rely on the authority of CORNUTUS, that the old *European* heathens conſidered JOVE (not the ſon of SATURN, but of the *Ether*, that is, of an unknown parent) as the great *Life-giver*, and *Father of Gods and Men*; to which may be added the *Orphean* doctrine, preſerved by PROCLUS, that "the abyſs and empyreum, the earth "and ſea, the Gods and Goddeſſes, were pro-"duced by ZEUS or JUPITER." In this character he correſponds with BRAHMA'; and, perhaps, with that God of the *Babylonians* (if we can rely on the accounts of their ancient religion), who, like BRAHMA', reduced the univerſe to order, and like BRAHMA', *loſt his head*, with the blood of which new animals were inſtantly formed: I allude to the common ſtory, the meaning of which I cannot diſcover, that

BRAHMA'

BRAHMA' had five heads till one of them was cut off by NA'RA'YA'N.

THAT, in another capacity, JOVE was the *Helper* and *Supporter* of all, we may collect from his old *Latin* epithets, and from CICERO, who informs us, that his usual name is a contraction of *Juvans Pater*; an etymology, which shews the idea entertained of his character, though we may have some doubts of its accuracy. CALLIMACHUS, we know, addresses him as *the bestower of all good, and of security from grief*; and, *since neither wealth without virtue, nor virtue without wealth, give complete happiness*, he prays, like a wise poet, for both. An *Indian* prayer for riches would be directed to LACSHMI', the wife of VISHNU, since the *Hindu* goddesses are believed to be the *powers* of their respective lords: as to CUVE'RA, the *Indian* PLUTUS, one of whose names in *Paulastya*, he is revered, indeed, as a magnificent Deity, residing in the palace of *Alacá*, or borne through the sky in a splendid car named *Pushpaca*, but is manifestly subordinate, like the other seven Genii, to the three principal Gods, or rather to the principal God considered in three capacities. As the soul of the world, or the pervading *mind*, so finely described by VIRGIL, we see JOVE represented by several *Roman*

poets;

poets; and with great ſublimity by LUCAN in the known ſpeech of CATO concerning the *Ammonian* oracle, "JUPITER is, wherever we look, wherever we move." This is preciſely the *Indian* idea of VISHNU, according to the four verſes above exhibited; not that the *Bráhmans* imagine their male Divinity to be the *divine Eſſence* of the great one, which they declare to be wholly incomprehenſible; but, ſince the power of *preſerving* created things by a ſuperintending Providence, belongs eminently to the Godhead, they hold that power to exiſt tranſcendently in the *preſerving* member of the Triad, whom they ſuppoſe to be EVERY WHERE ALWAYS, not in ſubſtance, but in ſpirit and energy: here, however, I ſpeak of the *Vaiſhnava's*; for the *Saiva's* aſcribe a ſort of pre-eminence to SIVA, whoſe attributes are now to be conciſely examined.

IT was in the capacity of Avenger and Deſtroyer, that JOVE encountered and overthrew the *Titans* and Giants, whom TYPHON, BRIAREUS, TITYUS, and the reſt of their fraternity, led againſt the God of *Olympus*; to whom an Eagle brought *lightning* and *thunderbolts* during the warfare: thus, in a ſimilar conteſt between SIVA and the *Daityas*, or children of DITI, who frequently rebelled againſt heaven, BRAH-

MA'

MA' is believed to have presented the God of Destruction with *fiery shafts*. One of the many poems entitled *Rámáyan*, the last book of which has been translated into *Italian*, contains an extraordinary dialogue between the crow *Bhushunda*, and a rational Eagle, named GARUDA, who is often painted with the face of a beautiful youth and the body of an imaginary bird; and one of the eighteen *Puránas* bears his name and comprizes his whole history. M. SONNERAT informs us, that VISHNU is represented in some places riding on the GARUDA, which he supposes to be the *Pondicheri* Eagle of BRISSON, especially as the *Bráhmans* of the Coast highly venerate that class of birds, and provide food for numbers of them at stated hours: I rather conceive the *Garúda* to be a fabulous bird, but agree with him, that the *Hindu* God, who rides on it, resembles the ancient JUPITER. In the old temples at *Gayà*, VISHNU is either mounted on this poetical bird, or attended by it, together with a little page; but, lest an etymologist should find GANYMED in GARUD, I must observe, that the *Sanscrit* word is pronounced *Garura*; though I admit, that the *Grecian* and *Indian* stories of the celestial bird and the page appear to have some resemblance. As the *Olympian* JUPITER fixed his court and held his councils

councils on a lofty and brilliant mountain, so the appropriated seat of MAHA'DE'VA, whom the *Saiva's* consider as the Chief of the Deities, was mount *Cailása*, every splinter of whose rocks was an inestimable gem: his terrestrial haunts are the snowy hills of *Himálaya*, or that branch of them to the East of the *Brahmaputra*, which has the name of *Chandrasic'hara*, or the *Mountain of the Moon*. When, after all these circumstances, we learn that SIVA is believed to have *three* eyes, whence he is named also TRILO'CHAN, and know from PAUSANIAS, not only that *Triophthalmos* was an epithet of ZEUS, but that a statue of him had been found so early as the taking of *Troy* with *a third eye in his forehead*, as we see him represented by the *Hindus*, we must conclude, that the identity of the two Gods falls little short of being demonstrated.

IN the character of *Destroyer* also we may look upon this *Indian* Deity as corresponding with the *Stygian* JOVE, or PLUTO; especially since CA'LI', or *Time* in the feminine gender, is a name of his consort, who will appear hereafter to be PROSERPINE: indeed, if we can rely on a *Persian* translation of the *Bhágavat* (for the original is not yet in my possession), the sovereign of *Pátála*, or the *Infernal Regions*, is the *King of Serpents*, named SE'SHANA'GA; for

CRISHNA

CRISHNA is there ſaid to have deſcended with his favourite ARJUN to the ſeat of that formidable divinity, from whom he inſtantly obtained the favour which he requeſted, that the ſouls of a *Bráhman's* ſix ſons, who had been ſlain in battle, might reanimate their reſpective bodies; and SE'SHANA'GA is thus deſcribed: "He had a gorgeous appearance, with a thou-" "ſand heads, and on each of them a crown" "ſet with reſplendent gems, one of which was" "larger and brighter than the reſt; his eyes" "gleamed like flaming torches; but his neck," "his tongues, and his body were black; the" "ſkirts of his habiliment were yellow, and a" "ſparkling jewel hung in every one of his" "ears; his arms were extended, and adorned" "with rich bracelets, and his hands bore the" "holy ſhell, the radiated weapon, the mace" "for war, and the lotos." Thus PLUTO was often exhibited in painting and ſculpture with a diadem and ſceptre; but himſelf and his equipage were of the blackeſt ſhade.

THERE is yet another attribute of MAHA'-DE'VA, by which he is too viſibly diſtinguiſhed in the drawings and temples of *Bengal*. To deſtroy, according to the *Védánti's* of *India*, the *Súfi's* of *Perſia*, and many Philoſophers of our *European* ſchools, is only to *generate* and *reproduce* in another form: hence the God of *De-*

ſtruction

struction is holden in this country to preside over *Generation*; as a symbol of which he rides on a *white bull*. Can we doubt that the loves and feats of JUPITER GENITOR (not forgetting the *white bull* of EUROPA) and his extraordinary title of LAPIS, for which no satisfactory reason is commonly given, have a connection with the *Indian* Philosophy and Mythology? As to the deity of *Lampsacus*, he was originally a mere scarecrow, and ought not to have a place in any mythological system; and in regard to BACCHUS, the God of *Vintage* (between whose acts and those of JUPITER we find, as BACON observes, a wonderful affinity), his *Ithyphallick* images, measures, and ceremonies alluded probably to the supposed relation of Love and Wine; unless we believe them to have belonged originally to SIVA, one of whose names is *Vágís* or BA'GI's, and to have been afterwards improperly applied. Though, in an Essay on the Gods of *India*, where the *Bráhmans* are positively forbidden to taste fermented liquors, we can have little to do with BACCHUS, as God of Wine, who was probably no more than the imaginary president over the vintage in *Italy*, *Greece*, and the Lower *Asia*, yet we must not omit SURA'DE'VI', the Goddess of Wine, who arose, say the *Hindus*, from the ocean, when it was churned with the mountain

Mandar;

Mandar: and this fable ſeems to indicate, that the *Indians* came from a country in which wine was antiently made and conſidered as a bleſſing; though the dangerous effects of intemperance induced their early legiſlators to prohibit the uſe of all ſpirituous liquors; and it were much to be wiſhed that ſo wiſe a law had never been violated.

HERE may be introduced the JUPITER *Marinus*, or NEPTUNE, of the *Romans*, as reſembling MAHA'DE'VA in his *generative* character; eſpecially as the *Hindu* God is the huſband of BHAVA'NI', whoſe relation to the *waters* is evidently marked by her image being reſtored to them at the concluſion of her great feſtival called *Dúrgótſava*: ſhe is known alſo to have attributes exactly ſimilar to thoſe of VENUS *Marina*, whoſe birth from the ſea-foam and ſplendid riſe from the Conch, in which ſhe had been cradled, have afforded ſo many charming ſubjects to antient and modern artiſts; and it is very remarkable, that the REMBHA' of INDRA's court, who ſeems to correſpond with the popular VENUS, or Goddeſs of Beauty, was produced, according to the *Indian* Fabuliſts, from the froth of the churned ocean. The identity of the *triſúla* and the *trident*, the weapon of SIVA and of NEPTUNE, ſeems to eſtabliſh this analogy; and the veneration paid all over

over *India* to the large buccinum, eſpecially when it can be found with the ſpiral line and mouth turned from left to right, brings inſtantly to our mind the muſic of TRITON. The Genius of Water is VARUNA; but he, like the reſt, is far inferior to MAHE'SA', and even to INDRA, who is the Prince of the beneficent genii.

THIS way of conſidering the Gods as individual ſubſtances, but as diſtinct perſons in diſtinct characters, is common to the *European* and *Indian* ſyſtems; as well as the cuſtom of giving the higheſt of them the greateſt number of names: hence, not to repeat what has been ſaid of JUPITER, came the triple capacity of DIANA; and hence her petition in CALLIMACHUS, that ſhe might be *polyonymous* or *many-titled*. The conſort of SIVA is more eminently marked by theſe diſtinctions than thoſe of BRAHMA' or VISHNU: ſhe reſembles the ISIS *Myrionymos*, to whom an antient marble, deſcribed by GRUTER, is dedicated; but her leading names and characters are PA'RVATI', DURGA', BHAVA'NI'.

As the *Mountain-born* Goddeſs, or PA'RVATI', ſhe has many properties of the *Olympian* JUNO: her majeſtic deportment, high ſpirit, and general attributes are the ſame; and we find her, both on Mount *Cailáſa*, and at the banquets

of

of the Deities, uniformly the companion of her hufband. One circumftance in the parallel is extremely fingular: fhe is ufually attended by her fon CA'RTICE'YA, who rides on a *peacock*; and, in fome drawings, his own robe feems to be fpangled with eyes; to which muft be added that, in fome of her temples, a *peacock*, without a rider, ftands near her image. Though CA'RTICE'YA, with his fix faces and numerous eyes, bears fome refemblance to ARGUS, whom JUNO employed as her principal wardour, yet, as he is a Deity of the fecond clafs, and the Commander of celeftial Armies, he feems clearly to be the ORUS of *Egypt* and the MARS of *Italy*: his name SCANDA, by which he is celebrated in one of the *Puránas*, has a connection, I am perfuaded, with the old SECANDER of *Perfia*, whom the poets ridiculoufly confound with the *Macedonian*.

THE attributes of DURGA', or *difficult of accefs*, are alfo confpicuous in the feftival abovementioned, which is called by her name; and in this character fhe refembles MINERVA, not the peaceful inventrefs of the fine and ufeful arts, but PALLAS, armed with a helmet and fpear: both reprefent heroic *Virtue*, or Valour united with Wifdom; both flew Demons and Giants with their own hands; and both protected the wife and virtuous who paid them

due

due adoration. As PALLAS, they ſay, takes her name from *vibrating* a lance, and uſually appears in complete armour, thus CURIS, the old *Latian* word for a ſpear, was one of JUNO's titles; and ſo, if GIRALDUS be correct, was HOPLOSMIA, which at *Elis*, it ſeems, meant a female dreſſed in panoply or complete accoutrements. The *unarmed* MINERVA of the *Romans* apparently correſponds, as patroneſs of Science and Genius, with SERESWATI', the wife of BRAHMA', and the emblem of his principal *Creative Power*: both goddeſſes have given their names to celebrated grammatical works; but the *Sáreſwata* of SARU'PA'CHA'RYA is far more conciſe as well as more uſeful and agreeable than the *Minerva* of SANCTIUS. The MINERVA of *Italy* invented the *flute*, and SERESWATI' preſides over melody: the protecteſs of *Athens* was even, on the ſame account, ſurnamed MUSICE'.

MANY learned Mythologiſts, with GIRALDUS at their head, conſider the peaceful MINERVA as the ISIS of *Egypt*; from whoſe temple at *Sais* a wonderful inſcription is quoted by PLUTARCH, which has a reſemblance to the four *Sanſcrit* verſes above exhibited as the text of the *Bhágavat*: "I am all, that hath been, "and is, and ſhall be; and my veil no mortal "hath ever removed." For my part I have no doubt,

doubt, that the I'SWARA and I'SI' of the *Hindus* are the OSIRIS and ISIS of the *Egyptians*; though a distinct essay in the manner of PLUTARCH would be requisite in order to demonstrate their identity: they mean, I conceive, the *Powers of Nature* considered as Male and Female; and ISIS, like the other goddesses, represents the active power of her lord, whose *eight* forms, under which he becomes visible to man, were thus enumerated by CA'LIDA'SA near two thousand years ago: "*Water* was the "first work of the Creator; and *Fire* receives "the oblation of clarified butter, as the law "ordains; the *Sacrifice* is performed with so-"lemnity; the *two Lights* of heaven distin-"guish time; the subtile *Ether*, which is the "vehicle of sound, pervades the universe; "the *Earth* is the natural parent of all in-"crease; and by *Air* all things breathing are "animated: may I'SA, the *power* propitiously "apparent in these eight forms, bless and sus-"tain you!" The *five* elements therefore, as well as the Sun and Moon, are considered as I'SA or the *Ruler*, from which word I'SI' may be regularly formed, though I'SA'NI' be the usual name of his *active Power*, adored as the Goddess of Nature. I have not yet found in *Sanscrit* the wild, though poetical, tale of IO; but am persuaded, that, by means of the *Puránas*,

we ſhall in time diſcover all the learning of the *Egyptians* without decyphering their hieroglyphics: the bull of I'SWARA ſeems to be APIS or AP, as he is more correctly named in the true reading of a paſſage in JEREMIAH; and if the veneration ſhewn both in *Tibet* and *India* to ſo amiable and uſeful a quadruped as the Cow, together with the *regeneration* of the LAMA himſelf, have not ſome affinity with the religion of *Egypt* and the idolatry of *Iſraël*, we muſt at leaſt allow that circumſtances have wonderfully coincided. BHAVA'NI' now demands our attention; and in this character I ſuppoſe the wife of MAHA'DEVA' to be as well the JUNO *Cinxia* or LUCINA of the *Romans* (called alſo by them DIANA *Solvizona*, and by the *Greeks* ILITHYIA) as VENUS herſelf; not the *Idalian* queen of laughter and jollity, who, with her Nymphs and Graces, was the beautiful child of poetical imagination, and anſwers to the *Indian* REMBHA' with her celeſtial train of *Apſarâ's*, or damſels of paradiſe; but VENUS *Urania*, ſo luxuriantly painted by LUCRETIUS, and ſo properly invoked by him at the opening of a poem on nature; VENUS, preſiding over *generation*, and, on that account, exhibited ſometimes of both ſexes, (an union very common in the *Indian* ſculptures) as in her *bearded* ſtatue at *Rome*, in the images perhaps called

Hermathena,

Hermathena, and in thoſe figures of her which had the form of a *conical marble*; "for the "reaſon of which figure we are left," ſays TACITUS, "in the dark:" the reaſon appears too clearly in the temples and paintings of *Hinduſtan*; where it never ſeems to have entered the heads of the legiſlators or people that any thing natural could be offenſively obſcene; a ſingularity, which pervades all their writings and converſation, but is no proof of depravity in their morals. Both PLATO and CICERO ſpeak of EROS, or the heavenly CUPID, as the ſon of VENUS and JUPITER; which proves, that the monarch of *Olympus* and the Goddeſs of Fecundity were connected as MAHA'DE'VA and BHAVA'NI: the God CA'MA, indeed, had MA'YA' and CASYAPA, or *Uranus*, for his parents, at leaſt according to the Mythologiſts of *Caſhmir*; but, in moſt reſpects, he ſeems the twin-brother of CUPID with richer and more lively appendages. One of his many epithets is *Dípaca*, the *Inflamer*, which is erroneouſly written *Dípuc*; and I am now convinced, that the ſort of reſemblance which has been obſerved between his *Latin* and *Sanſcrit* names, is accidental: in each name the three firſt letters are the *root*, and between them there is no affinity. Whether any Mythological connection ſubſiſted between the

amaracus, with the fragrant leaves of which HYMEN bound his temples, and the *tulasì of India*, muſt be left undetermined: the botanical relation of the two plants (if *amaracus* be properly tranſlated *marjoram*) is extremely near.

ONE of the moſt remarkable ceremonies in the feſtival of the *Indian* Goddeſs is that beforementioned of caſting her image *into the river*: the *Pandits*, of whom I inquired concerning its origin and import, anſwered, "that it was "preſcribed by the *Véda*, they knew not "why;" but this cuſtom has, I conceive, a relation to the doctrine, that *water* is a *form* of I'SWARA, and conſequently of I'SA'NI', who is even repreſented by ſome as the patroneſs of that element, to which her figure is reſtored, after having received all due honours on *earth*, which is conſidered as another *form* of the God of Nature, though ſubſequent, in the order of Creation, to the primeval fluid. There ſeems no deciſive proof of one original ſyſtem among idolatrous nations in the worſhip of river gods and river-goddeſſes, nor in the homage paid to their ſtreams, and the ideas of purification annexed to them; ſince *Greeks*, *Italians*, *Egyptians*, and *Hindús* might (without any communication with each other) have adored the ſeveral divinities of their great rivers, from which

which they derived pleaſure, health, and abundance. The notion of Doctor MUSGRAVE, that large rivers were ſuppoſed, from their ſtrength and rapidity, to be conducted by Gods, while rivulets only were protected by female deities, is, like moſt other notions of Grammarians on the genders of nouns, overthrown by facts. Moſt of the great *Indian* rivers are feminine; and the three goddeſſes of the waters whom the *Hindus* chiefly venerate, are GANGA', who ſprang, like armed PALLAS, from the head of the *Indian* JOVE; YAMUNA', daughter of the Sun, and SERESWATI': all three meet at *Prayága*, thence called *Trivéni*, or *the three plaited locks*; but SERESWATI', according to the popular belief, ſinks under ground, and riſes at another *Trivéni*, near *Húgli*, where ſhe rejoins her beloved GANGA'. The *Bramaputra* is, indeed, a male river; and as his name ſignifies the ſon of BRAHMA', I thence took occaſion to feign that he was married to GANGA', though I have not yet ſeen any mention of him, as a God, in the *Sanſcrit* books.

TWO incarnate deities of the firſt rank, RA'MA and CRISHNA, muſt now be introduced, and their ſeveral attributes diſtinctly explained. The firſt of them, I believe, was the DYONYSOS of the *Greeks*, whom they named BROMIUS,

without knowing why, and BUGENES, when they represented him *horned*, as well as LYAIOS and ELEUTHERIOS, the Deliverer, and TRIAMBOS or DITHYRAMBOS, the Triumphant: most of those titles were adopted by the *Romans*, by whom he was called BRUMA, TAURIFORMIS, LIBER, TRIUMPHUS; and both nations had records or traditionary accounts of his *giving laws* to men and deciding their contests, of his improving navigation and commerce, and, what may appear yet more observable, of his conquering *India* and other countries with an army of *Satyrs*, commanded by no less a personage than PAN; whom LILIUS GIRALDUS, on what authority I know not, asserts to have resided in *Iberia*, "when he had returned," says the learned Mythologist, "from the *Indian* war, in which he accompanied BACCHUS." It were superfluous, in a mere essay, to run any length in the parallel between this *European* God and the sovereign of *Ayodhyà*, whom the *Hindus* believe to have been an appearance on earth of the *Preserving Power*; to have been a Conqueror of the highest renown, and the Deliverer of nations from tyrants, as well as of his consort SI'TA' from the giant RA'VAN, king of *Lancá*, and to have commanded in chief a numerous and intrepid race of those large *Monkeys*, which our naturalists,

raliſts, or ſome of them, have denominated *Indian* Satyrs: his General, the Prince of Satyrs, was named HANUMAT, or *with high cheek-bones*; and, with workmen of ſuch agility, he ſoon raiſed a bridge of rocks over the ſea, part of which, ſay the *Hindus*, yet remains; and it is, probably, the ſeries of rocks, to which the *Muſelmans* or the *Portugueſe* have given the fooliſh name of ADAM's (it ſhould be called RA'MA's) bridge. Might not this army of Satyrs have been only a race of mountaineers, whom RA'MA', if ſuch a monarch ever exiſted, had civilized? However that may be, the large breed of *Indian* Apes is at this moment held in high veneration by the *Hindus*, and fed with devotion by the *Bráhmans*, who ſeem, in two or three places on the banks of the *Ganges*, to have a regular endowment for the ſupport of them: they live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle (I ſpeak as an eye-witneſs), and appear to have ſome kind of order and ſubordination in their little ſylvan polity. We muſt not omit, that the father of *Hanumat* was the God of Wind, named PAVAN, one of the eight Genii; and as PAN improved the pipe by adding ſix reeds, and "played exquiſitely on the cithern a few "moments after his birth," ſo one of the four ſyſtems of *Indian* muſic bears the name of

HANUMAT, or HANUMA'N in the nominative, as its inventor, and is now in general eſtimation.

THE war of *Lancá* is dramatically repreſented at the feſtival of RA'MA on the ninth day of the new moon of *Chaitra*; and the drama concludes (ſays HOLWELL, who had often ſeen it) with an exhibition of the fire-ordeal, by which the victor's wife SI'TA' gave proof of her connubial fidelity: "the dialogue," he adds, "is taken from one of the Eighteen holy "books," meaning, I ſuppoſe, the *Purànas*; but the *Hindus* have a great number of regular dramas at leaſt two thouſand years old, and among them are ſeveral very fine ones on the ſtory of RA'MA. The firſt poet of the *Hindus* was the great VA'LMI'C, and his *Rámáyan* is an Epic Poem on the ſame ſubject, which, in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of ſtyle, far ſurpaſſes the learned and elaborate work of NONNUS, entitled *Dionyſiaca*, half of which, or twenty-four books, I peruſed with great eagerneſs, when I was very young, and ſhould have travelled to the concluſion of it, if other purſuits had not engaged me. I ſhall never have leiſure to compare the *Dionyſiacks* with the *Rámáyan*, but am confident, that an accurate compariſon of the two poems would prove DIONYSOS and

RA'MA

RA'MA to have been the ſame perſon; and I incline to think, that he was RA'MA, the ſon of CU'SH, who might have eſtabliſhed the firſt regular government in this part of *Aſia*. I had almoſt forgotten, that *Meros* is ſaid by the *Greeks* to have been a mountain of *India*, on which their DIONYSOS was born, and that *Méru*, though it generally means the north pole in the *Indian* geography, is alſo a mountain near the city of *Naiſhada* or *Nyſa*, called by the *Grecian* geographers *Dionyſopolis*, and univerſally celebrated in the *Sanſcrit* poems; though the birth-place of RA'MA is ſuppoſed to have been *Ayódhyà* or *Audh*. That ancient city extended, if we believe the *Bráhmans*, over a line of ten *Yojans*, or about forty miles, and the preſent city of *Lac'hnau*, pronounced *Lucnow*, was only a lodge for one of its gates, called *Lacſhmanadwára*, or the gate of LACSHMAN, a brother of RA'MA. M. SONNERAT ſuppoſes *Ayódhyà* to have been *Siam*; a moſt erroneous and unfounded ſuppoſition! which would have been of little conſequence, if he had not grounded an argument on it, that RA'MA was the ſame perſon with BUDDHA, who muſt have appeared many centuries after the conqueſt of *Lancá*.

THE ſecond great divinity, CRISHNA, paſſed a life, according to the *Indians*, of a moſt extraordinary

"this country," I cannot rely; becauſe I am credibly informed, by ſome of the *Rájà*'s own family, that he was not a man of ſolid learning, though he poſſeſſed curious books, and had been attentive to the converſation of learned men: beſides, I know that his ſon and moſt of his kinſmen have been dabblers in *Perſian* literature, and believe them very likely, by confounding one ſource of information with another, to puzzle themſelves and miſlead thoſe with whom they converſe. The word *Mis'r*, ſpelled alſo in *Sanſcrit* with a palatial ſibilant, is very remarkable; and, as far as Etymology can help us, we may ſafely derive *Nilus* from the *Sanſcrit* word *níla*, or *blue*; ſince DIONYSIUS expreſsly calls the waters of that river "an *azure* ſtream;" and, if we can depend on MARCO's *Italian* verſion of the *Rámáyan*, the name of *Níla* is given to a lofty and ſacred mountain with a ſummit of pure gold, from which flowed *a river of clear, ſweet, and freſh water*. M. SONNERAT refers to a diſſertation by Mr. SCHMIT, which gained a prize at the Academy of Inſcriptions, "On an *Egyptian* "Colony eſtabliſhed in *India*:" it would be worth while to examine his authorities, and either to overturn or verify them by ſuch higher authorities as are now acceſſible in theſe provinces. I ſtrongly incline to think him right, and to believe that *Egyptian* prieſts have actually

come

come from the *Nile* to the *Gangà* and *Yamunà*, which the *Bráhmans* moſt aſſuredly would never have left: they might indeed have come either to be inſtructed or to inſtruct; but it ſeems more probable that they viſited the *Sarmans* of *India* as the ſages of *Greece* viſited them, rather to acquire than to impart knowledge; nor is it likely that the ſelf-ſufficient *Bráhmans* would have received them as their preceptors.

BE all this as it may, I am perſuaded that a connection ſubſiſted between the old idolatrous nations of *Egypt*, *India*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, long before they migrated to their ſeveral ſettlements, and conſequently before the birth of MOSES; but the proof of this propoſition will in no degree affect the truth and ſanctity of the *Moſaick* Hiſtory, which, if confirmation were neceſſary, it would rather tend to confirm. The *Divine Legate*, educated by the daughter of a king, and in all reſpects highly accompliſhed, could not but know the mythological ſyſtem of *Egypt*; but he muſt have condemned the ſuperſtitions of that people, and deſpiſed the ſpeculative abſurdities of their prieſts; though ſome of their traditions concerning the Creation and the Flood were grounded on truth. Who was better acquainted with the mythology of *Athens* than SOCRATES? Who more accurately verſed in the Rabbinical doctrines than PAUL? Who poſſeſſed clearer ideas of all antient aſtronomical

ſyſtems

ſyſtems than NEWTON, or of ſcholaſtic metaphyſicks than LOCKE? In whom could the *Romiſh* Church have had a more formidable opponent than in CHILLINGWORTH, whoſe deep knowledge of its tenets rendered him ſo competent to diſpute them? In a word, who more exactly knew the abominable rites and ſhocking idolatry of *Canaan* than MOSES himſelf? Yet the learning of thoſe great men only incited them to ſeek other ſources of truth, piety, and virtue, than thoſe in which they had long been immerſed. There is no ſhadow then of a foundation for an opinion that MOSES borrowed the firſt nine or ten chapters of *Geneſis* from the literature of *Egypt*: ſtill leſs can the adamantine pillars of our *Chriſtian* faith be moved by the reſult of any debates on the comparative antiquity of the *Hindus* and *Egyptians*, or of any inquiries into the *Indian* Theology. Very reſpectable natives have aſſured me, that one or two miſſionaries have been abſurd enough, in their zeal for the converſion of the *Gentiles*, to urge, "that the *Hindus* were even now almoſt *Chriſtians*, because their BRAHMA', VISHNU, and MAHE'SA, were no other than the *Chriſtian* Trinity;" a ſentence in which we can only doubt whether folly, ignorance, or impiety predominates. The three *powers Creative*, *Preſervative*, and *Deſtructive*, which the *Hindus* expreſs by the triliteral word *O'M*,

were

were grofsly afcribed by the firft idolaters to the *heat*, *light*, and *flame* of their miftaken divinity the Sun; and their wifer fucceffors in the Eaft, who perceived that the Sun was only a created thing, applied thofe powers to its creator; but the *Indian* Triad, and that of PLATO, which he calls the Supreme Good, the Reafon, and the Soul, are infinitely removed from the holinefs and fublimity of the doctrine which pious *Chriftians* have deduced from texts in the Gofpel, though other *Chriftians*, as pious, openly profefs their diffent from them. Each fect muft be juftified by its own faith and good intentions: this only I mean to inculcate, that the tenet of our Church cannot without profanenefs be compared with that of the *Hindus*, which has only an apparent refemblance to it, but a very different meaning. One fingular fact, however, muft not be fuffered to pafs unnoticed. That the name of CRISHNA, and the general outline of his ftory, were long anterior to the birth of our Saviour, and probably to the time of HOMER, we know very certainly; yet the celebrated poem entitled *Bhágavat*, which contains a prolix account of his life, is filled with narratives of a moft extraordinary kind, but ftrangely variegated and intermixed with poetical decorations: the incarnate deity of the *Sanfcrit* romance was cradled, as it informs us, among *Herdfmen*, but it adds,

that

that he was educated among them, and paſſed his youth in playing with a party of milkmaids; a tyrant, at the time of his birth, ordered all new-born males to be ſlain; yet this wonderful babe was preſerved by biting the breaſt inſtead of ſucking the poiſoned nipple of a nurſe commiſſioned to kill him; he performed amazing, but ridiculous, miracles in his infancy, and, at the age of ſeven years, held up a mountain on the tip of his little finger; he ſaved multitudes partly by his arms and partly by his miraculous powers; he raiſed the dead by deſcending for that purpoſe to the loweſt regions; he was the meekeſt and beſt-tempered of beings, waſhed the feet of the *Bráhmans*, and preached very nobly, indeed, and ſublimely, but always in their favour; he was pure and chaſte in reality, but exhibited an appearance of exceſſive libertiniſm, and had wives or miſtreſſes too numerous to be counted; laſtly, he was benevolent and tender, yet fomented and conducted a terrible war. This motley ſtory muſt induce an opinion that the ſpurious Goſpels, which abounded in the firſt age of *Chriſtianity*, had been brought to *India*, and the wildeſt parts of them repeated to the *Hindus*, who ingrafted them on the old fable of CE'SAVA, the APOLLO of *Greece*.

As to the general extenſion of our pure faith in *Hinduſtán*, there are at preſent many ſad obſtacles

ſtacles to it. The *Muſelmáns* are already a ſort of heterodox *Chriſtians*; they are *Chriſtians*, if LOCKE reaſons juſtly, becauſe they firmly believe the immaculate conception, divine character, and miracles of the MESSIAH; but they are heterodox in denying vehemently his character of Son, and his equality, as God, with the Father, of whoſe unity and attributes they entertain and expreſs the moſt awful ideas; while they conſider our doctrine as perfect blaſphemy, and inſiſt that our copies of the Scriptures have been corrupted both by *Jews* and *Chriſtians*. It will be inexpreſſibly difficult to undeceive them, and ſcarce poſſible to diminiſh their veneration for MOHAMMED and ALI, who were both very extraordinary men, and the ſecond a man of unexceptionable morals: the *Koràn* ſhines, indeed, with a borrowed light, ſince moſt of its beauties are taken from our Scriptures; but it has great beauties, and the *Muſelmáns* will not be convinced that they were borrowed. The *Hindus*, on the other hand, would readily admit the truth of the Goſpel; but they contend, that it is perfectly conſiſtent with their *Sáſtras*: the Deity, they ſay, has appeared innumerable times, in many parts of this world and of all worlds, for the ſalvation of his creatures; and though we adore him in one appearance, and they in others, yet we adore,

adore, they ſay, the ſame God, to whom our ſeveral worſhips, though different in form, are equally acceptable, if they be ſincere in ſubſtance. We may aſſure ourſelves, that neither *Muſelmans* nor *Hindus* will ever be converted by any miſſion from the Church of *Rome*, or from any other Church; and the only human mode, perhaps, of cauſing ſo great a revolution will be to tranſlate into *Sanſcrit* and *Perſian* ſuch chapters of the Prophets, particularly of ISAIAH, as are indiſputably Evangelical, together with one of the Goſpels, and a plain prefatory diſcourſe containing full evidence of the very diſtant ages, in which the predictions themſelves, and the hiſtory of the divine perſon predicted, were ſeverally made public; and then quietly to diſperſe the work among the well-educated natives; with whom if in due time it failed of producing very ſalutary fruit by its natural influence, we could only lament more than ever the ſtrength of prejudice and the weakneſs of unaſſiſted reaſon.

DIS-

DISSERTATION II.

ON THE

LITERATURE OF ASIA.

BEING THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY FEB. 1785.

GENTLEMEN,

IF the Deity of the *Hindus*, by whom all their juſt requeſts are believed to be granted with ſingular indulgence, had propoſed laſt year to gratify my warmeſt wiſhes, I could have deſired nothing more ardently than the ſucceſs of your inſtitution; becauſe I can deſire nothing in preference to the general good, which your plan ſeems calculated to promote, by bringing to light many uſeful and intereſting tracts, which, being too ſhort for ſeparate publication, might lie many years concealed, or, perhaps, irrecoverably periſh: my wiſhes are accompliſhed, without an invocation to CA'MADHE'NU; and your Society, having already paſſed its infant ſtate, is advancing to

 maturity

maturity with every mark of a healthy and robuſt conſtitution. When I reflect, indeed, on the variety of ſubjects, which have been diſcuſſed before you, concerning the hiſtory, laws, manners, arts, and antiquities of *Aſia*, I am unable to decide whether my pleaſure or my ſurpriſe be the greater; for I will not diſſemble, that your progreſs has far exceeded my expectations: and though we muſt ſeriouſly deplore the loſs of thoſe excellent men, who have lately departed from this capital, yet there is a proſpect ſtill of large contributions to your ſtock of *Aſiatick* learning, which, I am perſuaded, will continually increaſe. My late journey to *Benares* has enabled me to aſſure you, that many of your members, who reſide at a diſtance, employ a part of their leiſure in preparing additions to your archives; and, unleſs I am too ſanguine, you will ſoon receive light from them on ſeveral topicks entirely new in the republic of letters.

It was principally with a deſign to open ſources of ſuch information, that I long had meditated an expedition up the *Ganges* during the ſuſpenſion of my buſineſs; but, although I had the ſatisfaction of viſiting two ancient ſeats of *Hindu* ſuperſtition and literature, yet, illneſs having detained me a conſiderable time in the way, it was not in my power to continue

in them long enough to purſue my inquiries; and I left them, as ÆNEAS is feigned to have left the ſhades, when his guide made him recollect *the ſwift flight of irrevocable time*, with a curioſity raiſed to the height, and a regret not eaſy to be deſcribed.

WHOEVER travels in *Aſia*, eſpecially if he be converſant with the literature of the countries through which he paſſes, muſt naturally remark the ſuperiority of *European* talents: the obſervation, indeed, is at leaſt as old as ALEXANDER; and though we cannot agree with the ſage preceptor of that ambitious Prince, that "the *Aſiaticks* are born to be ſlaves," yet the *Athenian* poet ſeems perfectly in the right, when he repreſents *Europe* as a *ſovereign Princeſs*, and *Aſia* as *her Handmaid*: but if the miſtreſs be tranſcendantly majeſtick, it cannot be denied that the attendant has many beauties, and ſome advantages peculiar to herſelf. The ancients were accuſtomed to pronounce *panegyricks* on their own countrymen at the expence of all other nations, with a political view, perhaps, of ſtimulating them by praiſe, and exciting them to ſtill greater exertions; but ſuch arts are here unneceſſary; nor would they, indeed, become a Society who ſeek nothing but truth unadorned by rhetorick; and although we muſt be conſcious of our ſuperior advancement in all kinds of uſeful knowledge, yet we

 ought

ought not therefore to contemn the people of *Aſia*, from whoſe reſearches into nature, works of art, and inventions of fancy, many valuable hints may be derived for our own improvement and advantage. If that, indeed, were not the principal object of your inſtitution, little elſe could ariſe from it but the mere gratification of curioſity; and I ſhould not receive ſo much delight from the humble ſhare which you have allowed me to take in promoting it.

To form an exact parallel between the works and actions of the Weſtern and Eaſtern worlds, would require a tract of no inconſiderable length; but we may decide on the whole, that reaſon and taſte are the grand prerogatives of *European* minds, while the *Aſiaticks* have ſoared to loftier heights in the ſphere of imagination. The civil hiſtory of their vaſt empires, and of *India* in particular, muſt be highly intereſting to our common country; but we have a ſtill nearer intereſt in knowing all former modes of ruling *theſe ineſtimable provinces*, on the proſperity of which ſo much of our national welfare, and individual benefit, ſeems to depend. A minute *geographical* knowledge, not only of *Bengal* and *Bahar*, but, for evident reaſons, of *all the kingdoms bordering on them*, is cloſely connected with an account of their many revolutions: but the *natural* productions of theſe territories, eſpecially in the

vegetable

vegetable and *mineral* fyftems, are momentous objects of refearch not only to an *imperial*, but, which is a character of equal dignity, a *commercial* people.

If *Botany* may be defcribed by metaphors drawn from the fcience itfelf, we may juftly pronounce a minute acquaintance with *plants*, their *claffes*, *orders*, *kinds*, and *fpecies*, to be its *flowers*, which can only produce *fruit* by an application of that knowledge to the purpofes of life, particularly to *diet*, by which difeafes may be avoided, and to *medicine*, by which they may be remedied: for the improvement of the laft mentioned art, than which none furely can be more beneficial to mankind, the virtues of *minerals* alfo fhould be accurately known. So highly has medical fkill been prized by the ancient *Indians*, that one of the *fourteen Retna's*, or *precious things*, which their Gods are believed to have produced by churning the ocean with the mountain *Mandara*, was *a learned phyfician*. What their old books contain on this fubject we ought certainly to difcover, and that without lofs of time; left the venerable but abftrufe language in which they are compofed, fhould ceafe to be perfectly intelligible, even to the beft educated natives, through a want of powerful invitation to ftudy it. Bernier, who was himfelf of the Faculty, mentions approved medical books in *Sanfcrit*, and

 cites

cites a few aphoriſms, which appear judicious and rational; but we can expect nothing ſo important from the works of *Hindu* or *Muſelman* phyſicians, as the knowledge, which experience muſt have given them, of *ſimple* medicines. I have ſeen an *Indian* preſcription of *fifty-four*, and another of *ſixty-ſix*, ingredients; but ſuch compoſitions are always to be ſuſpected, ſince the effect of one ingredient may deſtroy that of another; and it were better to find certain accounts of a ſingle leaf or berry, than to be acquainted with the moſt elaborate compounds, unleſs they too have been proved by a multitude of ſucceſsful experiments. The noble deobſtruent oil, extracted from the *Eranda* nut, the whole family of *Balſams*, the incomparable ſtomachick root from *Columbo*, the fine aſtringent ridiculouſly called *Japan* earth, but in truth produced by the decoction of an *Indian* plant, have long been uſed in *Aſia*; and who can foretel what glorious diſcoveries of other oils, roots, and ſalutary juices, may be made by your Society? If it be doubtful whether the *Peruvian* bark be *always* efficacious in this country, its place may, perhaps, be ſupplied by ſome indigenous vegetable equally antiſeptick, and more congenial to the climate. Whether any treatiſes on *Agriculture* have been written by experienced natives of theſe pro-

vinces,

vinces, I am not yet informed; but ſince the court of *Spain* expect to find uſeful remarks in an *Arabick* tract preſerved in the *Eſcurial*, on *the cultivation of land in that kingdom*, we ſhould inquire for ſimilar compoſitions, and examine the contents of ſuch as we can procure.

The ſublime ſcience of Chymiſtry, which I was on the point of calling *divine*, muſt be added, as a key to the richeſt treaſuries of nature; and it is impoſſible to foreſee how greatly it may improve our *manufactures*, eſpecially if it can fix thoſe brilliant *dyes*, which want nothing of perfect beauty but a longer continuance of their ſplendour; or how far it may lead to new methods of *fluxing and compounding metals*, which the *Indians*, as well as the *Chineſe*, are thought to have practiſed in higher perfection than ourſelves.

In thoſe elegant arts which are called *fine* and *liberal*, though of leſs general utility than the labours of the mechanic, it is really wonderful how much a ſingle nation has excelled the whole world: I mean the ancient *Greeks*, whoſe *Sculpture*, of which we have exquiſite remains both on gems and in marble, no modern tool can equal; whoſe *Architecture* we can only imitate at a ſervile diſtance, but are unable to make one addition to it, without deſtroying its graceful ſimplicity; whoſe *Poetry* ſtill delights us in youth, and amuſes us at a

maturer age; and of whose *Painting* and *Musick* we have the concurrent relations of so many grave authors, that it would be strange incredulity to doubt their excellence. *Painting*, as an art belonging to the powers of the imagination, or what is commonly called *Genius*, appears to be yet in its infancy among the people of the East: but the *Hindu* system of *musick* has, I believe, been formed on truer principles than our own; and all the skill of the native composers is directed to the great object of their art, *the natural expression of strong passions*, to which *melody*, indeed, is often sacrificed; though some of their tunes are pleasing even to an *European* ear. Nearly the same may be truly asserted of the *Arabian* or *Persian* system; and, by a correct explanation of the best books on that subject, much of the old *Grecian* theory may probably be recovered.

The *poetical* works of the *Arabs* and *Persians*, which differ surprisingly in their style and form, are here pretty generally known; and though tastes, concerning which there can be no disputing, are divided in regard to their merit, yet we may safely say of them, what Abulfazl, pronounces of the *Mahábhárat*, that, "although they abound with extravagant "images and descriptions, they are in the "highest degree entertaining and instruc-"tive."

" tive." Poets of the greateſt genius, PINDAR, ÆSCHYLUS, DANTE, PETRARCA, SHAKESPEARE, SPENSER, have moſt abounded in images not far from the brink of abſurdity; but if their luxuriant fancies, or thoſe of ABULOLA, FIRDAUSI, NIZA'MI, were pruned away at the hazard of their ſtrength and majeſty, we ſhould loſe many pleaſures by the amputation. If we may form a juſt opinion of the *Sanſcrit* poetry from the ſpecimens already exhibited, (though we can only judge perfectly by conſulting the originals), we cannot but thirſt for the whole work of VYA'SA, with which a member of our Society, whoſe preſence deters me from ſaying more of him, will in due time gratify the public. The poetry of *Mathurà*, which is the *Parnaſſian* land of the *Hindus*, has a ſofter and leſs elevated ſtrain; but, ſince the inhabitants of the diſtricts near *Agra*, and principally of the *Duab*, are ſaid to ſurpaſs all other *Indians* in eloquence, and to have compoſed many agreeable tales and love-ſongs, which are ſtill extant, the *Báſhá*, or *vernacular idiom* of *Vraja*, in which they are written, ſhould not be neglected. No ſpecimens of genuine *Oratory* can be expected from nations, among whom the form of government precludes even the idea of *popular eloquence*;

but

but the art of writing, in elegant and modulated periods, has been cultivated in *Aſia* from the earlieſt ages: the *Véda's*, as well as the *Alkoran*, are written in meaſured proſe; and the compoſitions of ISOCRATES are not more highly poliſhed than thoſe of the beſt *Arabian* and *Perſian* authors.

OF the *Hindu* and *Muſelman* architecture there are yet many noble remains in *Bahar*, and ſome in the vicinity of *Malda*; nor am I unwilling to believe, that even thoſe ruins, of which you will, I truſt, be preſented with correct delineations, may furniſh our own architects with new ideas of beauty and ſublimity.

PERMIT me now to add a few words on the *Sciences*, properly ſo named; in which it muſt be admitted, that the *Aſiaticks*, if compared with our Weſtern nations, are mere children. One of the moſt ſagacious men in this age, who continues, I hope, to improve and adorn it, SAMUEL JOHNSON, remarked in my hearing, that "if NEWTON had flouriſhed in "ancient *Greece*, he would have been wor-"ſhipped as a divinity;" how zealouſly then would he be adored in *Hinduſtan*, if his incomparable writings could be read and comprehended by the *Pandits* of *Caſhmír* or *Benares*! I have ſeen a mathematical book in *Sanſcrit* of the

the higheſt antiquity; but ſoon perceived from the diagrams, that it contained only ſimple elements: there may, indeed, have been, in the favourable atmoſphere of *Aſia*, ſome diligent obſervers of the celeſtial bodies, and ſuch obſervations as are recorded, ſhould indiſputably be made publick; but let us not expect any new *methods*, or the analyſis of new *curves*, from the geometricians of *Iran*, *Turkiſtan*, or *India*. Could the works of ARCHIMEDES, the NEWTON of *Sicily*, be reſtored to their genuine purity by the help of *Arabick* verſions, we might then have reaſon to triumph on the ſucceſs of our ſcientifical inquiries; or could the ſucceſſive improvements and various rules of *Algebra* be traced through *Arabian* channels, to which CARDAN boaſted that he had acceſs, the modern Hiſtory of *Mathematicks* would receive conſiderable illuſtration.

THE Juriſprudence of the *Hindus* and *Muſelmans* will produce more immediate advantage; and if ſome ſtandard *law tracts* were accurately tranſlated from the *Sanſcrit* and *Arabick*, we might hope in time to ſee ſo complete a Digeſt of *Indian* Laws, that all diſputes among the natives might be decided without *uncertainty*, which is in truth a diſgrace, though ſatirically called a *glory*, to the forenſick ſcience.

ALL

ALL theſe objects of inquiry muſt appear to you, Gentlemen, in ſo ſtrong a light, that bare intimations of them will be ſufficient; nor is it neceſſary to make uſe of *emulation* as an incentive to an ardent purſuit of them: yet I cannot forbear expreſſing a wiſh, that the activity of the *French* in the ſame purſuits may not be ſuperior to ours, and that the reſearches of M. SONNERAT, whom the court of *Verſailles* employed for ſeven years in theſe climates, merely to collect ſuch materials as we are ſeeking, may kindle, inſtead of abating, our own curioſity and zeal. If you aſſent, as I flatter myſelf you do, to theſe opinions, you will alſo concur in promoting the object of them; and a few ideas having preſented themſelves to my mind, I preſume to lay them before you, with an entire ſubmiſſion to your judgment.

No contributions, except thoſe of the literary kind, will be requiſite for the ſupport of the Society; but if each of us were occaſionally to contribute a ſuccinct deſcription of ſuch manuſcripts as he had peruſed or inſpected, with their dates and the names of their owners, and to propoſe for ſolution ſuch *queſtions* as had occurred to him concerning *Aſiatick* Art, Science, and Hiſtory, natural or civil, we ſhould poſſeſs without labour, and almoſt by imperceptible degrees,

degrees, a fuller catalogue of Oriental books than has hitherto been exhibited, and our correſpondents would be appriſed of thoſe points, to which we chiefly direct our inveſtigations. Much may, I am confident, be expected from the communications of *learned natives*, whether lawyers, phyſicians, or private ſcholars, who would eagerly, on the firſt invitation, ſend us their *Mekámát* and *Riſálahs* on a variety of ſubjects; ſome for the ſake of advancing general knowledge, but moſt of them from a deſire, neither uncommon nor unreaſonable, of attracting notice, and recommending themſelves to favour. With a view to avail ourſelves of this diſpoſition, and to bring their latent ſcience under our inſpection, it might be adviſeable to print and circulate a ſhort memorial, in *Perſian* and *Hindi*, ſetting forth, in a ſtyle accommodated to their own habits and prejudices, the deſign of our inſtitution; nor would it be impoſſible hereafter to give a medal annually, with inſcriptions, in *Perſian* on one ſide, and on the reverſe in *Sanſcrit*, as the prize of merit, to the writer of the beſt eſſay or diſſertation. To inſtruct others is the preſcribed duty of learned *Bráhmans*, and, if they be men of ſubſtance, without reward; but they would all be flattered with an honorary mark of diſtinction; and the *Mahomedans* have not

not only the permiſſion, but the poſitive command, of their law-giver, *to ſearch for learning even in the remoteſt parts of the globe.* It were ſuperfluous to ſuggeſt, with how much correctneſs and facility their compoſitions might be tranſlated for our uſe, ſince their languages are now more generally and perfectly underſtood than they have ever been by any nation of *Europe*.

DISSER-

MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL. THE TANJORE

DISSERTATION III.

ON THE

HINDU'S,

BEING THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY FEB. 2, 1786.

OF all the works which have been publiſhed in our own age, or, perhaps, in any other, on the Hiſtory of the Ancient World, and *the firſt population of this habitable globe*, that of Mr. JACOB BRYANT, whom I name with reverence and affection, has the beſt claim to the praiſe of deep erudition ingeniouſly applied, and new theories happily illuſtrated by an aſſemblage of numberleſs converging rays from a moſt extenſive circumference: it falls, nevertheleſs, as every human work muſt fall, ſhort of perfection; and the leaſt ſatisfactory part of it ſeems to be that which relates to the derivation of words from *Aſiatick* languages. Etymology has, no doubt, ſome uſe in hiſtorical reſearches; but it is a medium of proof ſo very fallacious,

fallacious, that, where it elucidates one fact, it obscures a thousand, and more frequently borders on the ridiculous than leads to any solid conclusion: it rarely carries with it any *internal* power of conviction from a resemblance of sounds or similarity of letters; yet often, where it is wholly unassisted by those advantages, it may be indisputably proved by *extrinsick* evidence. We know *à posteriori*, that both *fitz* and *hijo*, by the nature of two several dialects, are derived from *filius*; that *uncle* comes from *avus*, and *stranger* from *extra*; that *jour* is deducible, through the *Italian*, from *dies*; and *rossignol* from *luscinia*, or the *singer in groves*; that *sciuro*, *écureuil*, and *squirrel*, are compounded of two *Greek* words descriptive of the animal; which etymologies, though they could not have been demonstrated *à priori*, might serve to confirm, if any such confirmation were necessary, the proofs of a connection between the members of one great Empire; but, when we derive our *hanger*, or *short pendent sword*, from the *Persian*, because ignorant travellers thus mis-spell the word *khanjar*, which in truth means a different weapon, or *sandal-wood* from the *Greek*, because we suppose that *sandals* were sometimes made of it, we gain no ground in proving the affinity of nations, and only weaken arguments, which might

might otherwiſe be firmly ſupported. That Cu's then, or, as it certainly is written in one ancient dialect, Cu'T, and in others, probably, Ca's, enters into the compoſition of many proper names, we may very reaſonably believe; and that *Algeziras* takes its name from the *Arabick* word for an *iſland*, cannot be doubted: but when we are told from *Europe*, that places and provinces in *India* were clearly denominated from thoſe words, we cannot but obſerve, in the firſt inſtance, that the town, in which we now are aſſembled, is properly written and pronounced *Calicátà*; that both *Cátá* and *Cút* unqueſtionably mean *places of ſtrength*, or, in general, any *incloſures*; and that *Gujarát* is at leaſt as remote from *Jezirah* in ſound as it is in ſituation.

Another exception (and a third could hardly be diſcovered by any candid criticiſm) to the *Analyſis of Ancient Mythology*, is, that the *method* of reaſoning and arrangement of topicks adopted in that learned work are not quite agreeable to the title, but almoſt wholly *ſynthetical*; and, though *ſyntheſis* may be the better mode in pure *ſcience*, where the principles are undeniable, yet it ſeems leſs calculated to give complete ſatisfaction in *hiſtorical* diſquiſitions, where every poſtulatum will perhaps be refuſed, and every definition contro-

verted: this may ſeem a ſlight objection, but the ſubject is in itſelf ſo intereſting, and the full conviction of all reaſonable men ſo deſirable, that it may not be loſt labour to diſcuſs the ſame or a ſimilar theory in a method purely analytical; and, after beginning with facts of general notoriety or undiſputed evidence, to inveſtigate ſuch truths as are at firſt unknown or very imperfectly diſcerned.

THE *five* principal nations, who have in different ages divided among themſelves, as a kind of inheritance, the vaſt continent of *Aſia*, with the many iſlands depending on it, are the *Indians*, the *Chineſe*, the *Tartars*, the *Arabs*, and the *Perſians*: *who* they ſeverally were, *whence* and *when* they came, *where* they now are ſettled, and *what advantage* a more perfect knowledge of them all may bring to our *European* world, will be ſhewn, I truſt, in *five* diſtinct eſſays; the laſt of which will demonſtrate the connexion or diverſity between them, and ſolve the great problem, whether they had *any* common origin, and whether that origin was *the ſame* which we generally aſcribe to them.

I BEGIN with *India*, not becauſe I find reaſon to believe it the true centre of population or of knowledge, but, becauſe it is the country which we now inhabit, and from which we

may

may beſt ſurvey the regions around us; as, in popular language, we ſpeak of the *riſing* ſun, and of his *progreſs through the Zodiack*, although it had long ago been imagined, and is now demonſtrated, that he is himſelf the centre of our planetary ſyſtem. Let me here premiſe, that, in all theſe inquiries concerning the hiſtory of *India*, I ſhall confine my reſearches downwards to the *Mohammedan* conqueſts at the beginning of the *eleventh* century, but extend them upwards, as high as poſſible, to the earlieſt authentic records of the human ſpecies.

INDIA then, on its moſt enlarged ſcale, in which the ancients appear to have underſtood it, compriſes an area of near *forty* degrees on each ſide, including a ſpace almoſt as large as all *Europe*; being divided on the weſt from *Perſia* by the *Arachoſian* mountains, limited on the eaſt by the *Chineſe* part of the farther peninſula, confined on the north by the wilds of *Tartary*, and extending to the ſouth as far as the iſles of *Java*. This trapezium, therefore, comprehends the ſtupendous hills of *Potyid* or *Tibet*, the beautiful valley of *Caſhmír*, and all the domains of the old *Indoſcythians*, the countries of *Népál* and *Butánt*, *Cámrúp* or *Aſam*, together with *Siam*, *Ava*, *Racan*, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the *China* of

the *Hindus* or *Sin* of the *Arabian* Geographers; not to mention the whole weſtern peninſula with the celebrated iſland of *Sinhala*, or *Lion-like men*, at its ſouthern extremity. By *India*, in ſhort, I mean that whole extent of country in which the primitive religion and languages of the *Hindus* prevail at this day with more or leſs of their ancient purity, and in which the *Nágarì* letters are ſtill uſed with more or leſs deviation from their original form.

The *Hindus* themſelves believe their own country, to which they give the vain epithets of *Medhyama*, or *Central*, and *Punyabhúmi*, or the *Land of Virtues*, to have been the portion of Bharat, one of *nine* brothers, whoſe father had the dominion of the whole earth; and they repreſent the mountains of *Himálaya* as lying to the north, and, to the weſt, thoſe of *Vindhya*, called alſo *Vindian* by the *Greeks*; beyond which the *Sindhu* runs in ſeveral branches to the ſea, and meets it nearly oppoſite to the point of *Dwáracà*, the celebrated ſeat of their Shepherd God: in the *ſouth-eaſt* they place the great river *Saravatya*; by which they probably mean that of *Ava*, called alſo *Airávati*, in part of its courſe, and giving perhaps its ancient name to the gulf of *Sabara*. This domain of *Bharat* they conſider as the middle of the *Jambudwípa*, which the *Tibetians* alſo call the Land of *Zambu*; and the appellation

tion is extremely remarkable; for *Jambu* is the *Sanscrit* name of a delicate fruit called *Jáman* by the *Muselmans*, and by us *rose-apple*; but the largest and richest sort is named *Amrita*, or *Immortal*; and the Mythologists of *Tibet* apply the same word to a celestial tree bearing *ambrosial fruit*, and adjoining to *four* vast rocks, from which as many sacred rivers derive their several streams.

The inhabitants of this extensive tract are described by Mr. Lord with great exactness, and with a picturesque elegance peculiar to our ancient language: "A people," says he, "presented themselves to mine eyes, clothed in "linen garments somewhat low descending, "of a gesture and garb, as I may say, maid-"enly, and well nigh effeminate, of a coun-"tenance shy and somewhat estranged, yet "smiling out a glozed and bashful familiarity." Mr. Orme, the Historian of *India*, who unites an exquisite taste for every fine art with an accurate knowledge of *Asiatick* manners, observes, in his elegant preliminary Dissertation, that this "country has been inhabited from "the earliest antiquity by a people, who have "no resemblance, either in their figure or "manners, with any of the nations contiguous "to them;" and that, "although conquerors "have established themselves at different times

"in

" in different parts of *India*, yet the original " inhabitants have loſt very little of their ori- " ginal character." The ancients, in fact, give a deſcription of them, which our early travellers confirmed, and our own perſonal knowledge of them nearly verifies; as you will perceive from a paſſage in the Geographical Poem of DIONYSIUS, which the Analyſt of Ancient Mythology has tranſlated with great ſpirit:

" To th' eaſt a lovely country wide extends,
" INDIA, whoſe borders the wide ocean bounds;
" On this the ſun, new riſing from the main,
" Smiles pleas'd, and ſheds his early orient beams.
" Th' inhabitants are ſwart, and in their looks
" Betray the tints of the dark hyacinth.
" Various their functions; ſome the rock explore,
" And from the mine extract the latent gold;
" Some labour at the woof with cunning ſkill,
" And manufacture linen; others ſhape
" And poliſh iv'ry with the niceſt care;
" Many retire to rivers ſhoal, and plunge
" To ſeek the beryl flaming in its bed,
" Or glitt'ring diamond. Oft the jaſper's found
" Green, but diaphanous; the topaz too,
" Of ray ſerene and pleaſing; laſt of all,
" The lovely amethyſt, in which combine
" All the mild ſhades of purple. The rich ſoil,
" Waſh'd by a thouſand rivers, from all ſides
" Pours on the natives wealth without control.

THEIR ſources of wealth are ſtill abundant, even after ſo many revolutions and conqueſts; in

in their manufactures of cotton they ſtill ſurpaſs all the world; and their features have, moſt probably, remained unaltered ſince the time of DIONYSIUS; nor can we reaſonably doubt, how degenerate and abaſed ſoever the *Hindus* may now appear, that in ſome early age they were ſplendid in arts and arms, happy in government, wiſe in legiſlation, and eminent in various knowledge: but, ſince their civil hiſtory beyond the middle of the *nineteenth* century from the preſent time is involved in a cloud of fables, we ſeem to poſſeſs only *four* general media of ſatisfying our curioſity concerning it; namely, firſt, their *Languages* and *Letters*; ſecondly, their *Philoſophy* and *Religion*; thirdly, the actual remains of their old *Sculpture* and *Architecture*; and fourthly, the written memorials of their *Sciences* and *Arts*.

I. IT is much to be lamented, that neither the *Greeks* who attended ALEXANDER into *India*, nor thoſe who were long connected with it under the *Bactrian* Princes, have left us any means of knowing with accuracy, what vernacular languages they found on their arrival in this Empire. The *Mohammedans*, we know, heard the people of proper *Hinduſtan*, or *India* on a limited ſcale, ſpeaking a *Bháſhá*, or living tongue, of a very ſingular conſtruction, the pureſt dialect of which was current in the

diſtricts round *Agrà*, and chiefly on the poetical ground of *Mat'hurà*; and this is commonly called the idiom of *Vraja*. Five words in ſix, perhaps, of this language were derived from the *Sanſcrit*, in which books of religion and ſcience were compoſed, and which appears to have been formed by an exquiſite grammatical *arrangement*, as the name itſelf implies, from ſome unpoliſhed idiom; but the baſis of the *Hinduſtànì*, particularly the inflexions and regimen of verbs, differed as widely from both thoſe tongues, as *Arabick* differs from *Perſian*, or *German* from *Greek*. Now the general effect of conqueſt is to leave the current language of the conquered people unchanged, or very little altered, in its ground-work, but to blend with it a conſiderable number of exotick names both for things and for actions; as it has happened in every country, that I can recollect, where the conquerors have not preſerved their own tongue unmixed with that of the natives, like the *Turks* in *Greece*, and the *Saxons* in *Britain*; and this analogy might induce us to believe, that the pure *Hindì*, whether of *Tartarian* or *Chaldean* origin, was primeval in Upper *India*, into which the *Sanſcrit* was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms in ſome very remote age; for we cannot doubt that the language of the *Véda's* was uſed in the great extent

of

of country which has before been delineated, as long as the religion of *Brahmà* has prevailed in it.

THE *Sanſcrit* language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful ſtructure; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*, and more exquiſitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a ſtronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could poſſibly have been produced by accident; ſo ſtrong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have ſprung from ſome common ſource, which, perhaps, no longer exiſts: there is a ſimilar reaſon, though not quite ſo forcible, for ſuppoſing that both the *Gothick* and the *Celtick*, though blended with a very different idiom, had the ſame origin with the *Sanſcrit*; and the old *Perſian* might be added to the ſame family, if this were the place for diſcuſſing any queſtion concerning the antiquities of *Perſia*.

THE *characters*, in which the languages of *India* were originally written, are called *Nágarì*, from *Nagar*, a City, with the word *Déva* ſometimes prefixed, becauſe they are believed to have been taught by the Divinity himſelf, who preſcribed the artificial order of them in a voice from heaven. Theſe letters, with no greater variation

tion in their form by the change of ſtraight lines to curves, or converſely, than the *Cuſick* alphabet has received in its way to *India*, are ſtill adopted in more than twenty kingdoms and ſtates, from the borders of *Caſhgar* and *Khoten*, to *Ráma's* bridge, and from the *Sindhu* to the river of *Siam*; nor can I help believing, although the poliſhed and elegant *Dévanágari* may not be ſo ancient as the monumental characters in the caverns of *Jaraſandha*, that the ſquare *Chaldaick* letters, in which moſt *Hebrew* books are copied, were originally the ſame, or derived from the ſame prototype, both with the *Indian* and *Arabian* characters; that the *Phenician*, from which the *Greek* and *Roman* alphabets were formed by various changes and inverſions, had a ſimilar origin, there can be little doubt; and the inſcriptions at *Canárah*, of which you now poſſeſs a moſt accurate copy, ſeem to be compounded of *Nágari* and *Ethiopick* letters, which bear a cloſe relation to each other, both in the mode of writing from the left hand, and in the ſingular manner of connecting the vowels with the conſonants. Theſe remarks may favour an opinion entertained by many, that all the ſymbols of *ſound*, which at firſt, probably, were only rude outlines of the different organs of ſpeech, had a common origin: the ſymbols of *ideas* now uſed in *China* and *Japan*, and

formerly

formerly, perhaps, in *Egypt* and *Mexico*, are quite of a diſtinct nature; but it is very remarkable, that the order of *ſounds* in the *Chineſe* grammars correſponds nearly with that obſerved in *Tibet*, and hardly differs from that which the *Hindus* conſider as the invention of their Gods.

II. Of the *Indian* Religion and Philoſophy, I ſhall here ſay but little; becauſe a full account of each would require a ſeparate volume: it will be ſufficient in this Diſſertation to aſſume, what might be proved beyond controverſy, that we now live among the adorers of thoſe very deities, who were worſhipped under different names in old *Greece* and *Italy*, and among the profeſſors of thoſe philoſophical tenets, which the *Ionick* and *Attick* writers illuſtrated with all the beauties of their melodious language. On one hand we ſee the trident of NEPTUNE, the eagle of JUPITER, the ſatyrs of BACCHUS, the bow of CUPID, and the chariot of the *Sun*; on another we hear the cymbals of RHEA, the ſongs of the *Muſes*, and the paſtoral tales of APOLLO NOMIUS. In more retired ſcenes, in groves, and in ſeminaries of learning, we may perceive the *Bráhmans* and the *Sarmanes*, mentioned by CLEMENS, diſputing in the forms of *logick*, or diſcourſing on the vanity of human enjoyments, on the immortality of the ſoul, her

her emanation from the eternal mind, her debasement, wanderings, and final union with her source. The *six* philosophical schools, whose principles are explained in the *Dersana Sástra*, comprise all the metaphysicks of the old *Academy*, the *Stoa*, the *Lyceum*; nor is it possible to read the *Védánta*, or the many fine compositions in illustration of it, without believing, that PYTHAGORAS and PLATO derived their sublime theories from the same fountain with the sages of *India*. The *Scythian* and *Hyperborean* doctrines and mythology may also be traced in every part of these eastern regions; nor can we doubt, that WOD or ODEN, whose religion, as the northern historians admit, was introduced into *Scandinavia* by a foreign race, was the same with BUDDHA, whose rites were probably imported into *India* nearly at the same time, though received much later by the *Chinese*, who soften his name into FO'.

THIS may be a proper place to ascertain an important point in the Chronology of the *Hindus*; for the priests of BUDDHA left in *Tibet* and *China* the precise epoch of his appearance, real or imagined, in this empire; and their information, which had been preserved in writing, was compared by the *Christian* Missionaries and scholars with our own era. COUPLET, DE GUIGNES, GIORGI, and BAILLY, differ a little in

in their accounts of this epoch, but that of *Couplet* ſeems the moſt correct: on taking, however, the medium of the four ſeveral dates, we may fix the time of BUDDHA, or the *ninth* great incarnation of VISHNU, in the year *one thouſand and fourteen* before the birth of CHRIST, or *two thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-nine* years ago. Now the *Cáſhmirians*, who boaſt of his deſcent in their kingdom, aſſert that he appeared on earth about *two* centuries after CRISHNA, the *Indian* APOLLO, who took ſo decided a part in the war of the *Mahábhárat*; and, if an Etymologiſt were to ſuppoſe that the *Athenians* had embelliſhed their poetical hiſtory of PANDION's expulſion and the reſtoration of ÆGEUS with the *Aſiatick* tale of the PA'NDUS and YUDHISHTH'IR, neither of which words they could have articulated, I ſhould not haſtily deride his conjecture: certain it is, that *Pándumandel* is called by the *Greeks* the country of PANDION. We have therefore determined another intereſting epoch, by fixing the age of CRISHNA near the *three thouſandth* year from the preſent time; and as the three firſt *Avatàrs*, or deſcents of VISHNU, relate no leſs clearly to *an* Univerſal Deluge, in which eight perſons only were ſaved, than the *fourth* and *fifth* do to the *puniſhment of impiety* and the *humiliation* of the *proud*, we may for the preſent

ſent aſſume, that the *ſecond*, or *ſilver*, age of the *Hindus* was ſubſequent to the diſperſion from *Babel*; ſo that we have only a dark interval of about a *thouſand* years, which were employed in the ſettlement of nations, the foundation of ſtates or empires, and the cultivation of civil ſociety. The great incarnate Gods of this intermediate age are both named RA'MA, but with different epithets; one of whom bears a wonderful reſemblance to the *Indian* BACCHUS, and his wars are the ſubject of ſeveral heroick poems. He is repreſented as a deſcendant from SU'RYA, or the SUN, as the huſband of SI'TA', and the ſon of a princeſs named CAU'SELYA': it is very remarkable, that the *Peruvians*, whoſe *Incas* boaſted of the ſame deſcent, ſtyled their greateſt feſtival *Ramaſitoa*; whence we may ſuppoſe, that *South America* was peopled by the ſame race, who imported into the fartheſt parts of *Aſia* the rites and fabulous hiſtory of RA'MA. Theſe rites and this hiſtory are extremely curious; and although I cannot believe with NEWTON, that antient mythology was nothing but hiſtorical truth in a poetical dreſs, nor, with BACON, that it conſiſted ſolely of moral and metaphyſical allegories, nor, with BRYANT, that all the heathen divinities are only different attributes and repreſentations of the Sun or of deceaſed progenitors, but conceive that the whole ſyſtem of religi-

religious fables roſe, like the *Nile*, from ſeveral diſtinct ſources, yet I cannot but agree, that one great ſpring and fountain of all idolatry in the four quarters of the globe, was the veneration paid by men to the vaſt body of fire which "looks from his ſole dominion like the "God of this world;" and another, the immoderate reſpect ſhewn to the memory of powerful or virtuous anceſtors, eſpecially the founders of kingdoms, legiſlators, and warriors, of whom the *Sun* or the *Moon* were wildly ſuppoſed to be the parents.

III. The remains of *architecture* and *ſculpture* in *India*, which I mention here as mere monuments of antiquity, not as ſpecimens of ancient art, ſeem to prove an early connection between this country and *Africa*: the pyramids of *Egypt*, the coloſſal ſtatues deſcribed by Pausanias and others, the ſphinx, and the Hermes *Canis*, which laſt bears a great reſemblance to the *Varáhávatár*, or the incarnation of Vishnu in the form of a *Boar*, indicate the ſtyle and mythology of the ſame indefatigable workmen who formed the vaſt excavations of *Canárah*, the various temples and images of Buddha, and the idols which are continually dug up at *Gayá*, or in its vicinity. The letters on many of thoſe monuments appear, as I have before intimated, partly of *Indian*, and

partly

partly of *Abyſſinian* or *Ethiopick*, origin; and all theſe indubitable facts may induce no ill-grounded opinion, that *Ethiopia* and *Hinduſtàn* were peopled or colonized by the ſame extraordinary race; in confirmation of which it may be added, that the mountaineers of *Bengal* and *Bahàr* can hardly be diſtinguiſhed in ſome of their features, particularly their lips and noſes, from the modern *Abyſſinians*, whom the *Arabs* call the children of CU'SH: and the antient *Hindus*, according to STRABO, differed in nothing from the *Africans* but in the ſtraightneſs and ſmoothneſs of their hair, while that of the others was criſp or woolly; a difference proceeding chiefly, if not entirely, from the reſpective humidity or dryneſs of their atmoſpheres: hence the people who *received the firſt light of the riſing ſun*, according to the limited knowledge of the antients, are ſaid by APULEIUS to be the *Arii* and *Ethiopians*, by which he clearly meant certain nations of *India*; where we frequently ſee figures of BUDDHA with *curled hair*, apparently deſigned for a repreſentation of it in its natural ſtate.

IV. IT is unfortunate, that the *Silpi Sáſtra*, or *Collection of Treatiſes on Arts* and *Manufactures*, which muſt have contained a treaſure of uſeful information on *dyeing*, *painting*, and *metallurgy*, has been ſo long neglected, that

that few, if any, traces of it are to be found; but the labours of the *Indian* loom and needle have been univerſally celebrated; and *fine linen* is not improbably ſuppoſed to have been called *Sindon*, from the name of the river near which it was wrought in the higheſt perfection: the people of *Colchis* were alſo famed for this manufacture, and the *Egyptians* yet more, as we learn from ſeveral paſſages in ſcripture, and particularly from a beautiful chapter in EZEKIEL, containing the moſt authentic delineation of antient commerce, of which *Tyre* had been the principal mart. Silk was fabricated immemorially by the *Indians*, though commonly aſcribed to the people of *Sérica* or *Tancút*, among whom probably the word *Sèr*, which the *Greeks* applied to the *ſilk-worm*, ſignified *gold*; a ſenſe which it now bears in *Tibet*. That the *Hindus* were in early ages a *commercial* people, we have many reaſons to believe; and in the firſt of their ſacred law-tracts, which they ſuppoſe to have been revealed by MENU many *millions* of years ago, we find a curious paſſage on the legal *intereſt* of money, and the limited rate of it in different caſes, with an exception in regard to *adventures* at *ſea*; an exception which the ſenſe of mankind approves, and which commerce abſolutely requires, though it was not before the reign of CHARLES I. that our own

jurisprudence fully admitted it in respect of maritime contracts.

We are told by the *Grecian* writers, that the *Indians* were the wisest of nations; and in moral wisdom they were certainly eminent: their *Níti Sástra*, or *System* of *Ethicks*, is yet preserved, and the Fables of Vishnuserman, whom we ridiculously call *Pilpay*, are the most beautiful, if not the most ancient, collection of apologues in the world: they were first translated from the *Sanscrit* in the *sixth* century, by the order of Buzerchumihr, or *Bright as the Sun*, the chief physician, and afterwards *Vezír* of the great Anu'shireva'n, and are extant under various names in more than twenty languages; but their original title is *Hitópadésa*, or *Amicable Instruction*; and as the very existence of Esop, whom the *Arabs* believe to have been an *Abyssinian*, appears rather doubtful, I am not disinclined to suppose, that the first *moral fables* which appeared in *Europe*, were of *Indian* or *Ethiopian* origin.

The *Hindus* are said to have boasted of *three* inventions, all of which, indeed, are admirable, the method of instructing by *apologues*, the *decimal scale* adopted now by all civilized nations, and the game of *Chess*, on which they have some curious treatises; but if their numerous works on Grammar, Logick, Rhetorick,

rick, Musick, all which are extant and accessible, were explained in some language generally known, it would be found that they had yet higher pretensions to the praise of a fertile and inventive genius. Their lighter poems are lively and elegant; their Epick, magnificent and sublime in the highest degree; their *Puránas* comprise a series of mythological Histories in blank verse from the *Creation* to the supposed incarnation of BUDDHA; and their *Vedas*, as far as we can judge from that compendium of them which is called *Upanishat*, abound with noble speculations in metaphysicks, and fine discourses on the being and attributes of GOD. Their most ancient medical book, entitled *Chereca*, is believed to be the work of SIVA; for each of the divinities in their *Triad* has at least one *sacred* composition ascribed to him; but, as to mere human works on *History* and *Geography*, though they are said to be extant in *Cashmir*, it has not been yet in my power to procure them. What their *astronomical* and *mathematical* writings contain, will not, I trust, remain long a secret: they are easily procured, and their importance cannot be doubted. The philosopher whose works are said to include a system of the universe founded on the principle of *Attraction* and the *Central* position of the sun, is named YAVAN

ACHA'RYA, becauſe he had travelled, we are told, into *Ionia:* if this be true, he might have been one of thoſe who converſed with PYTHAGORAS; this at leaſt is undeniable, that a book on aſtronomy in *Sanſcrit* bears the title of *Yavana Jática*, which may ſignify the *Ionick Sect*; nor is it improbable, that the names of the planets and *Zodiacal* ſtars, which the *Arabs* borrowed from the *Greeks*, but which we find in the oldeſt *Indian* records, were originally deviſed by the ſame ingenious and enterpriſing race, from whom both *Greece* and *India* were peopled; the race, who, as DIONYSIUS deſcribes them,

——' firſt aſſayed the deep,
' And wafted merchandize to coaſts unknown,
' Thoſe, who digeſted firſt the ſtarry choir,
' Their motions mark'd, and call'd them by their names.'

OF theſe curſory obſervations on the *Hindus*, which it would require volumes to expand and illuſtrate, this is the reſult: that they had an immemorial affinity with the old *Perſians*, *Ethiopians*, and *Egyptians*, the *Phenicians*, *Greeks*, and *Tuſcans*, the *Scythians* or *Goths*, and *Celts*, the *Chineſe*, *Japaneſe* and *Peruvians*; whence, as no reaſon appears for believing that they were a colony from any one of thoſe nations, or any of thoſe nations from them, we may fairly conclude that they all proceeded from

from ſome *central* country, to inveſtigate which will be the object of my future Diſcourſes; and I have a ſanguine hope, that your collections during the preſent year will bring to light many uſeful diſcoveries; although the departure for *Europe* of a very ingenious member, who firſt opened the ineſtimable mine of *Sanſcrit* literature, will often deprive us of accurate and ſolid information concerning the languages and antiquities of *India*.

DISSERTATION IV.

ON THE

ARABS.

BEING THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY FEB. 15, 1787.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAD the honour laſt year of opening to you my intention, to diſcourſe at our annual meetings on the *five* principal nations who have peopled the continent and iſlands of *Aſia*; ſo as to trace, by an hiſtorical and philological analyſis, the number of ancient ſtems from which thoſe five branches have ſeverally ſprung, and the central region from which they appear to have proceeded: you may, therefore, expect, that, having ſubmitted to your conſideration a few general remarks on the old inhabitants of *India*, I ſhould now offer my ſentiments on ſome other nation, who, from a ſimilarity of *language*, *religion*, *arts* and *manners*, may be ſuppoſed to have had an early connection

connection with the *Hindus*; but, since we find some *Asiatick* nations totally dissimilar to them in all or most of those particulars, and since the difference will strike you more forcibly by an immediate and close comparison, I design at present to give a short account of a wonderful people, who seem in every respect so strongly contrasted to the original natives of this country, that they must have been for ages a distinct and separate race.

For the purpose of these Discourses, I considered *India* on its largest scale, describing it as lying between *Persia* and *China*, *Tartary* and *Java*; and for the same purpose, I now apply the name of *Arabia*, as the Arabian Geographers often apply it, to that extensive peninsula, which the Red Sea divides from *Africa*, the great *Assyrian* river from *Iràn*, and of which the *Erythrean* Sea washes the base; without excluding any part of its western side, which would be completely maritime, if no isthmus intervened between the *Mediterranean* and the Sea of *Kolzom*: that country, in short, I call *Arabia*, in which the *Arabick* language and letters, or such as have a near affinity to them, have been immemorially current.

Arabia, thus divided from *India* by a vast ocean, or at least by a broad bay, could hardly have been connected in any degree with this

country, until navigation and commerce had been considerably improved: yet, as the *Hindus* and the people of *Yemen* were both commercial nations in a very early age, they were probably the first instruments of conveying to the western world the gold, ivory, and perfumes of *India*, as well as the fragrant wood, called *állúwwa* in *Arabick* and *aguru* in *Sanscrit*, which grows in the greatest perfection in *Anam* or *Cochin-china*. It is possible too, that a part of the *Arabian* idolatry might have been derived from the same source with that of the *Hindus*; but such an intercourse may be considered as partial and accidental only; nor am I more convinced, than I was fifteen years ago, when I took the liberty to animadvert on a passage in the History of Prince *Cantemir*, that the Turks have any just reason for holding the coast of *Yemen* to be a part of *India*, and calling its inhabitants *Yellow Indians*.

The *Arabs* have never been entirely subdued; nor has any impression been made on them, except on their borders; where, indeed, the *Phenicians*, *Persians*, *Ethiopians*, *Egyptians*, and, in modern times, the *Othman Tartars*, have severally acquired settlements; but, with these exceptions, the natives of *Hejàz* and *Yemen* have preserved for ages the sole dominion of their deserts and pastures, their mountains

and

and fertile vallies: thus, apart from the reſt of mankind, this extraordinary people have retained their primitive manners and language, features and character, as long and as remarkably as the *Hindus* themſelves. All the genuine *Arabs* of *Syria*, whom I knew in *Europe*, thoſe of *Yemen*, whom I ſaw in the iſland of *Hinzuan*, whither many had come from *Maſkat* for the purpoſe of trade, and thoſe of *Hejàz*, whom I have met in *Bengal*, form a ſtriking contraſt to the *Hindu* inhabitants of theſe provinces: their eyes are full of vivacity, their ſpeech voluble and articulate, their deportment manly and dignified, their apprehenſion quick, their minds always preſent and attentive; with a ſpirit of independence appearing in the countenances even of the loweſt among them. Men will always differ in their ideas of civilization, each meaſuring it by the habits and prejudices of his own country; but if courteſy and urbanity, a love of poetry and eloquence, and the practice of exalted virtues, be a juſter meaſure of perfect ſociety, we have certain proof, that the people of *Arabia*, both on plains and in cities, in republican and monarchical ſtates, were eminently civilized for many ages before their conqueſt of *Perſia*.

It is deplorable, that the ancient hiſtory of this majeſtick race ſhould be as little known in detail

detail before the time of *Dhú Yezen*, as that of the *Hindus* before *Vicramáditya*; for, although the vaſt hiſtorical work of *Alnuwairì* and the *Murújuldhahab*, or *Golden Meadows*, of *Almaſúdì*, contain chapters on the kings of *Himyar*, *Ghaſán*, and *Hírah*, with liſts of them and ſketches of their ſeveral reigns, and although genealogical tables, from which chronology might be better aſcertained, are prefixed to many compoſitions of the old *Arabian* Poets, yet moſt manuſcripts are ſo incorrect, and ſo many contradictions are found in the beſt of them, that we can ſcarce lean upon tradition with ſecurity, and muſt have recourſe to the ſame media for inveſtigating the hiſtory of the *Arabs*, that I before adopted in regard to that of the *Indians*; namely, their *language*, *letters*, and *religion*, their ancient *monuments*, and the certain remains of their *arts*; on each of which heads I ſhall touch very conciſely, having premiſed, that my obſervations will in general be confined to the ſtate of *Arabia* before that ſingular revolution at the beginning of the *ſeventh century*, the effects of which we feel at this day, from the *Pyrenean* mountains and the *Danube*, to the fartheſt parts of the *Indian Empire*, and even to the Eaſtern Iſlands.

I. For the knowledge which any *European*, who pleaſes, may attain of the *Arabian* language, we are principally indebted to the univerſity

verſity

versity of *Leyden*; for, though several *Italians* have assiduously laboured in the same wide field, yet the fruit of their labours has been rendered almost useless by more commodious and more accurate works printed in *Holland*; and, though POCOCK certainly accomplished much, and was able to accomplish any thing, yet the *Academical* ease which he enjoyed, and his theological pursuits, induced him to leave unfinished the valuable work of *Maidání*, which he had prepared for publication; nor, even if that rich mine of *Arabian* philology had seen the light, would it have borne any comparison with the fifty dissertations of *Harírì*, which the first ALBERT SCHULTENS translated and explained, though he sent abroad but few of them, and has left his worthy grandson, from whom, perhaps, *Maidání* also may be expected, the honour of publishing the rest: but the palm of glory in this branch of literature is due to GOLIUS, whose works are equally profound and elegant; so perspicuous in method, that they may always be consulted without fatigue, and read without languor, yet so abundant in matter, that any man, who shall begin with his noble edition of the Grammar, compiled by his master ERPENIUS, and proceed, with the help of his incomparable dictionary, to study his History of *Taimúr*, by *Ibni Arabsháh*, and shall make himself complete master of that sublime work, will understand

ſtand the learned *Arabick* better than the deepeſt ſcholar at *Conſtantinople* or at *Mecca*. The *Arabick* language, therefore, is almoſt wholly in our power; and as it is unqueſtionably one of the moſt antient in the world, ſo it yields to none ever ſpoken by mortals in the number of its words and the preciſion of its phraſes; but it is equally true and wonderful, that it bears not the leaſt reſemblance, either in words or the ſtructure of them, to the *Sanſcrit*, or great parent of the *Indian* dialects; of which diſſimilarity I will mention two remarkable inſtances: the *Sanſcrit*, like the *Greek*, *Perſian*, and *German*, delights in compounds, but in a much higher degree, and indeed to ſuch exceſs, that I could produce words of more than twenty ſyllables, not formed ludicrouſly, like that by which the buffoon in ARISTOPHANES deſcribes a feaſt, but with perfect ſeriouſneſs, on the moſt ſolemn occaſions, and in the moſt elegant works; while the *Arabick*, on the other hand, and all its ſiſter dialects, abhor the compoſition of words, and invariably expreſs very complex ideas by circumlocution; ſo that if a compound word be found in any genuine language of the *Arabian* Peninſula (*zenmerdah* for inſtance, which occurs in the *Hamáſah*), it may at once be pronounced an exotick. Again; it is the genius of the *Sanſcrit*, and other languages of the ſame ſtock, that the roots of verbs be almoſt univerſally *biliteral*, ſo

that

that *five and twenty hundred* ſuch roots might be formed by the compoſition of the fifty *Indian* letters; but the *Arabick* roots are as univerſally *triliteral*, ſo that the compoſition of the *twenty-eight Arabian* letters would give near *two and twenty thouſand elements* of the language: and this will demonſtrate the ſurpriſing extent of it; for although great numbers of its roots are confeſſedly loſt, and ſome, perhaps, were never in uſe, yet if we ſuppoſe ten thouſand of them (without reckoning *quadriliterals*) to exiſt, and each of them to admit only *five* variations, one with another, in forming *derivative nouns*, even then a perfect *Arabick* dictionary ought to contain *fifty thouſand* words, each of which may receive a multitude of changes by the rules of grammar. The derivatives in *Sanſcrit* are conſiderably more numerous: but a farther compariſon between the two languages is here unneceſſary; ſince, in whatever light we view them, they ſeem totally diſtinct, and muſt have been invented by two different races of men; nor do I recollect a ſingle word in common between them, except *Suruj*, the plural of *Siràj*, meaning both a *lamp* and the *ſun*, the *Sanſcrit* name of which is, in *Bengal*, pronounced *Súrja*; and even this reſemblance may be purely accidental. We may eaſily believe with the *Hindus*, that *not even* INDRA *himſelf and his heavenly bands, much leſs any mortal, ever comprehended in his mind*

mind ſuch an ocean of words as their ſacred language contains; and with the *Arabs*, that no man uninſpired was ever a complete maſter of *Arabick*: in fact, no perſon, I believe, now living in *Europe* or *Aſia*, can read without ſtudy an hundred couplets together in any collection of ancient *Arabian* poems; and we are told, that the great author of the *Kámús* learned by accident from the mouth of a child, in a village of *Arabia*, the meaning of three words, which he had long ſought in vain from grammarians, and from books, of the higheſt reputation. It is by approximation alone, that a knowledge of theſe two venerable languages can be acquired; and, with moderate attention, enough of them both may be known, to delight and inſtruct us in an infinite degree. I conclude this head with remarking, that the nature of the *Ethiopick* dialect ſeems to prove an early eſtabliſhment of the *Arabs* in part of *Ethiopia*, from which they were afterwards expelled, and attacked even in their own country by the *Abyſſinians*, who had been invited over as auxiliaries againſt the tyrant of *Yemen*, about a century before the birth of *Muhammed*.

Of the characters in which the old compoſitions of *Arabia* were written, we know but little; except that the *Korán* originally appeared in thoſe of *Cúfah*, from which the modern *Arabian* letters, with all their elegant variations,

were

were derived, and which unqueſtionably had a common origin with the *Hebrew* or *Chaldaick*; but as to the *Himyarick* letters, or thoſe which we ſee mentioned by the name of *Almuſnad*, we are ſtill in total darkneſs; the traveller *Niebuhr* having been unfortunately prevented from viſiting ſome ancient monuments in *Yemen*, which are ſaid to have inſcriptions on them: if thoſe letters bear a ſtrong reſemblance to the *Nágarì*, and if a ſtory current in *India* be true, that ſome *Hindu* merchants heard the *Sanſcrit* language ſpoken in *Arabia* the *Happy*, we might be confirmed in our opinion, that an intercourſe formerly ſubſiſted between the two nations of oppoſite coaſts, but ſhould have no reaſon to believe, that they ſprang from the ſame immediate ſtock. The firſt ſyllable of *Hamyar*, as many *Europeans* write it, might perhaps induce an Etymologiſt to derive the *Arabs* of *Yemen* from the great anceſtor of the *Indians*; but we muſt obſerve, that *Hemyar* is the proper appellation of thoſe *Arabs*; and many reaſons concur to prove, that the word is purely *Arabick*: the ſimilarity ſome proper names on the borders of *India* to thoſe of *Arabia*, as the river *Arabius*, a place called *Araba*, a people named *Aribes* or *Arabies*, and another called *Sabai*, is indeed remarkable, and may hereafter furniſh me with obſervations of ſome importance, but not at all inconſiſtent with my preſent ideas.

II. It

II. It is generally asserted, that the old religion of the *Arabs* was entirely *Sabian*; but I can offer so little accurate information concerning the *Sabian* faith, or even the meaning of the word, that I dare not yet speak on the subject with confidence. This at least is certain, that the people of *Yemen* very soon fell into the common, but fatal error of adoring the Sun and the Firmament; for even the third in descent from YOCKTAN, who was consequently as old as NAHOR, took the surname of ABDUSHAMS, or *Servant of the Sun*; and his family, we are assured, paid particular honours to that luminary: other tribes worshipped the planets and fixed stars; but the religion of the poets at least seems to have been pure Theism; and this we know with certainty, because we have *Arabian* verses of unsuspected antiquity, which contain pious and elevated sentiments on the goodness and justice, the power and omnipresence, of ALLAH, OR THE GOD. If an inscription, said to have been found on marble in *Yemen*, be authentick, the ancient inhabitants of that country preserved the religion of EBER, and professed a belief *in miracles and a future state.*

We are also told, that a strong resemblance may be found between the religions of the pagan *Arabs* and the *Hindus*; but though this may be true, yet an agreement in worshipping the sun and stars will not prove an affinity between

tween the two nations: the *powers* of God reprefented as *female* deities, the adoration of *ftones*, and the name of the Idol WUDD, may lead us indeed to fufpect, that fome of the *Hindu* fuperftitions had found their way into *Arabia*; and though we have no traces in *Arabian* Hiftory of fuch a conqueror or legiflator as the great SESAC, who is faid to have raifed pillars in *Yemen* as well as at the mouth of the *Ganges*, yet fince we know, that SA'CYA is a title of BUDDHA, whom I fuppofe to be WODEN, fince BUDDHA was not a native of *India*, and fince the age of SESAC perfectly agrees with that of SA'CYA, we may form a plaufible conjecture that they were in fact the fame perfon who travelled eaftward from *Ethiopia*, either as a warrior or as a law-giver, about a thoufand years before CHRIST, and whofe rites we now fee extended as far as the country of *Nifon*, or, as the *Chinefe* call it, *Japuen*, both words fignifying the *Rifing Sun*. SA'CYA may be derived from a word meaning *power*, or from another denoting *vegetable food*; fo that this epithet will not determine whether he was a hero or a philofopher; but the title BUDDHA, or *wife*, may induce us to believe that he was rather a benefactor than a deftroyer of his fpecies: if his religion, however, was really introduced into any part of *Arabia*, it could not

have been general in that country; and we may ſafely pronounce, that before the *Mohammedan* revolution, the noble and learned *Arabs* were *Theiſts*, but that a ſtupid idolatry prevailed among the lower orders of the people.

I FIND no trace among them, till their emigration, of any philoſophy but *Ethicks*; and even their ſyſtem of morals, generous and enlarged as it ſeems to have been in the minds of a few illuſtrious chieftains, was on the whole miſerably depraved for a century at leaſt before *Muhammed*: the diſtinguiſhing virtues which they boaſted of inculcating and practiſing, were a contempt of riches, and even of death; but, in the age of the *Seven Poets*, their liberality had deviated into mad profuſion, their courage into ferocity, and their patience into an obſtinate ſpirit of encountering fruitleſs dangers: but I forbear to expatiate on the manners of the *Arabs* in that age, becauſe the poems entitled *Almoâllakát*, which have appeared in our own language, exhibit an exact picture of their virtues and their vices, their wiſdom and their folly; and ſhew what may be conſtantly expected from men of open hearts and boiling paſſions, with no law to control, and little religion to reſtrain them.

III. FEW monuments of antiquity are preſerved in *Arabia*, and of thoſe few the beſt accounts

counts are very uncertain; but we are aſſured, that inſcriptions on rocks and mountains are ſtill ſeen in various parts of the Peninſula; which, if they are in any known language, and if correct copies of them can be procured, may be decyphered by eaſy and infallible rules.

THE firſt ALBERT SCHULTENS has preſerved in his Antient Memorials of *Arabia*, the moſt pleaſing of all his works, two little poems in an elegiack ſtrain, which are ſaid to have been found, about the middle of the ſeventh century, on ſome fragments of ruined edifices in *Hadramût* near *Aden*, and are ſuppoſed to be of an indefinite, but very remote, age. It may naturally be aſked, In what characters were they written? Who decyphered them? Why were not the original letters preſerved in the book where the verſes are cited? What became of the marbles, which *Abdurrahman*, then governor of *Yemen*, moſt probably ſent to the *Khalífah* at *Bagdad*? If they be genuine, they prove the people of *Yemen* to have been "herdſmen and warriors, inhabiting a fertile "and well-watered country full of game, and "near a fine ſea abounding with fiſh, under a "monarchical government, and dreſſed in "green ſilk or veſts of needlework," either of their own manufacture, or imported from *India*. The meaſure of theſe verſes is perfectly regular, and the dialect undiſtinguiſhable, at leaſt by me,

 from

from that of *Kuraish*; so that if the *Arabian* writers were much addicted to literary impostures, I should strongly suspect them to be modern compositions on the instability of human greatness, and the consequences of irreligion, illustrated by the example of the *Himyarick* princes; and the same may be suspected of the first poem quoted by SCHULTENS, which he ascribes to an *Arab* in the age of SOLOMON.

THE supposed houses of the people called *Thamûd* are also still to be seen in excavations of rocks; and, in the time of TABRIZI, the grammarian, a castle was extant in *Yemen*, which bore the name of ALADBAT, an old bard and warrior, who first, we are told, formed his army, thence called *álkhamìs*, in *five* parts, by which arrangement he defeated the troops of *Himyar* in an expedition against *Sanáà*.

OF pillars erected by SESAC, after his invasion of *Yemen*, we find no mention in *Arabian* histories; and, perhaps, the story has no more foundation than another told by the *Greeks* and adopted by NEWTON, that the *Arabs* worshipped URANIA, and even BACCHUS by name, which, they say, means *great* in *Arabick*; but where they found such a word we cannot discover: it is true, that *Beccah* signifies *a great and tumultuous croud*, and, in this sense, is one name of the sacred city commonly called *Meccah*.

THE

THE *Câbah*, or *quadrangular* edifice at *Meccah*, is indiſputably ſo antient, that its original uſe, and the name of its builder, are loſt in a cloud of idle traditions. An *Arab* told me gravely, that it was raiſed by ABRAHAM, who, as I aſſured him, was never there: others aſcribe it, with more probability, to ISMAIL, or one of his immediate deſcendants; but whether it was built as a place of divine worſhip, as a fortreſs, as a ſepulchre, or as a monument of the treaty between the old poſſeſſors of *Arabia* and the ſons of KEDAR, antiquaries may diſpute, but no mortal can determine. It is thought by RELAND to have been *the manſion of ſome antient Patriarch*, and revered *on that account by his poſterity*; but the room, in which we now are aſſembled, would contain the whole *Arabian* edifice; and if it were large enough for the dwelling-houſe of a Patriarchal family, it would ſeem ill adapted to the paſtoral manners of the *Kedarites*: a *Perſian* author inſiſts, that the true name of *Meccah* is *Mahcadah*, or the *Temple of the Moon*; but, although we may ſmile at his etymology, we cannot but think it probable that the *Câbah* was originally deſigned for religious purpoſes. Three couplets are cited in an *Arabick* Hiſtory of this building, which, from their extreme ſimplicity, have leſs appearance of impoſture than other verſes of the

ſame kind: they are aſcribed to ASAD, a *Tobbá*, or king *by ſucceſſion*, who is generally allowed to have reigned in *Yemen* an hundred and twenty-eight years before CHRIST's birth, and they commemorate, without any poetical imagery, the magnificence of the prince *in covering the holy temple with ſtriped cloth and fine linen, and in making keys for its gate.* This temple, however, the ſanctity of which was reſtored by MUHAMMED, had been ſtrangely profaned at the time of his birth, when it was uſual to decorate its walls with poems on all ſubjects, and often on the triumphs of *Arabian* gallantry and the praiſes of *Grecian* wine, which the merchants of *Syria* brought for ſale into the deſerts.

FROM the want of materials on the ſubject of *Arabian* antiquity, we find it very difficult to fix the Chronology of the *Iſmailites* with accuracy beyond the time of ADNAN, from whom the impoſtor was deſcended in the *twenty-firſt* degree; and although we have genealogies of ALKAMAH and other *Himyarick* bards as high as the *thirtieth* degree, or for a period of *nine hundred* years at leaſt, yet we can hardly depend on them ſo far as to eſtabliſh a complete chronological ſyſtem: by reaſoning downwards, however, we may aſcertain ſome points of conſiderable importance. The uni-

verſal

verſal tradition of *Yemen* is, that YOKTAN, the ſon of EBER, firſt ſettled his family in that country; which ſettlement, by the computation admitted in *Europe*, muſt have been above *three thouſand ſix hundred* years ago, and nearly at the time when the *Hindus*, under the conduct of RAMA, were ſubduing the firſt inhabitants of theſe regions, and extending the *Indian* empire from *Ayódhyà*, or *Audh*, as far as the iſle of *Sinhal* or *Silàn*. According to this calculation, NUUMAN, king of *Yemen*, in the *ninth* generation from EBER, was contemporary with JOSEPH; and if a verſe compoſed by that prince, and quoted by ABULFEDA, was really preſerved, as it might eaſily have been by oral tradition, it proves the great antiquity of the *Arabian* language and metre. This is a literal verſion of the couplet: 'When thou, who art in power, con-'ducteſt affairs with courteſy, thou attaineſt the 'high honours of thoſe who are moſt exalted, '*and* whoſe mandates are obeyed.' We are told, that from an elegant verb in this diſtich the royal poet acquired the ſurname of *Almuáàfer*, or the courteous. Now the reaſons for believing this verſe genuine, are its brevity, which made it eaſy to be remembered, and the good ſenſe compriſed in it, which made it become proverbial; to which we may add, that the dialect is apparently old, and differs in three

words from the idiom of *Hejàz*. The reaſons for doubting are, that ſentences and verſes of indefinite antiquity are ſometimes aſcribed by the *Arabs* to particular perſons of eminence; and they even go ſo far as to cite a pathetick elegy of ADAM himſelf on the death of ABEL, but in very good *Arabick* and correct meaſure. Such are the doubts which neceſſarily muſt ariſe on ſuch a ſubject, yet we have no need of ancient monuments or traditions to prove all that our analyſis requires; namely, that the *Arabs*, both of *Hejàz* and *Yemen*, ſprang from a ſtock entirely different from that of the *Hindus*, and that their firſt eſtabliſhments in the reſpective countries where we now find them, were nearly coeval.

I CANNOT finiſh this article without obſerving, that when the king of *Denmark*'s miniſters inſtructed the *Daniſh* travellers to collect *hiſtorical* books in *Arabick*, but not to buſy themſelves with procuring *Arabian poems*, they certainly were ignorant that the only monuments of old *Arabian* Hiſtory are collections of poetical pieces, and the commentaries on them; that all memorable tranſactions in *Arabia* were recorded in verſe; and that more certain facts may be known by reading the *Hamáſah*, the *Diwan of Hudhail*, and the valuable work of *Obaidullah*, than by turning over a hundred

volumes

volumes in proſe, unleſs indeed thoſe poems are cited by the hiſtorians as their authorities.

IV. THE manners of the *Hejázì Arabs*, which have continued we know from the time of SOLOMON to the preſent age, were by no means favourable to the cultivation of *arts*; and as to *ſciences*, we have no reaſon to believe that they were acquainted with any; for the mere amuſement of giving names to ſtars, which were uſeful to them in their paſtoral or predatory rambles through the deſerts, and in their obſervations on the weather, can hardly be conſidered as a material part of aſtronomy. The only arts in which they pretended to excellence (I except horſemanſhip and military accompliſhments), were *poetry* and *rhetorick*: that we have none of their compoſitions in proſe before the *Koràn*, may be aſcribed, perhaps, to the little ſkill which they ſeem to have had in writing; to their predilection in favour of poetical meaſure, and to the facility with which verſes are committed to memory; but all their ſtories prove that they were eloquent in a high degree, and poſſeſſed wonderful powers of ſpeaking without preparation in flowing and forcible periods. I have never been able to diſcover what was meaned by their book called *Rawásìm*, but ſuppoſe that they were collections of their common or cuſtomary law.

Writing

Writing was ſo little practiſed among them, that their old poems, which are now acceſſible to us, may almoſt be conſidered as originally unwritten; and I am inclined to think, that SAMUEL JOHNSON's reaſoning on the extreme imperfection of unwritten languages, was too general; ſince a language that is only ſpoken may nevertheleſs be highly poliſhed by a people who, like the ancient *Arabs*, make the improvement of their idiom a national concern, appoint ſolemn aſſemblies for the purpoſe of diſplaying their poetical talents, and hold it a duty to exerciſe their children in getting by heart their moſt approved compoſitions.

THE people of *Yemen* had poſſibly more *mechanical arts*, and, perhaps, more *ſcience*; but although their ports muſt have been the emporia of conſiderable commerce between *Egypt* and *India*, or part of *Perſia*, yet we have no certain proofs of their proficiency in navigation or even in manufactures. That the *Arabs* of the Deſert had muſical inſtruments, and names for the different notes, and that they were greatly delighted with melody, we know from themſelves; but their lutes and pipes were probably very ſimple, and their muſick, I ſuſpect, was little more than a natural and tuneful recitation of their elegiack verſes and loveſongs. The ſingular property of their language in ſhunning compound words, may be urged,

urged, according to BACON's idea, as a proof that they had made no progreſs in *arts*, ‘ which ‘ require, ſays he, a variety of combinations to ‘ expreſs the complex notions ariſing from ‘ them;’ but the ſingularity may perhaps be imputed wholly to the genius of the language, and the taſte of thoſe who ſpoke it; ſince the old *Germans*, who knew no art, appear to have delighted in compound words, which poetry and oratory, one would conceive, might require as much as any meaner art whatſoever.

So great on the whole was the ſtrength of parts or capacity, either natural or acquired from habit, for which the *Arabs* were ever diſtinguiſhed, that we cannot be ſurpriſed when we ſee that blaze of genius which they diſplayed as far as their arms extended; when they burſt, like their own dyke of *Arim*, through their ancient limits, and ſpread, like an inundation, over the great empire of *Iràn*. That a race of *Tázìs*, or *Courſers*, as the *Perſians* call them, ‘ who drank the milk of camels and fed on *lizards*, ſhould entertain a ‘ thought of ſubduing the kingdom of FE- ‘ RIDUN,’ was conſidered by the general of YEZDEGIRD's army as the ſtrongeſt inſtance of fortune's levity and mutability; but *Firdauſi* a complete maſter of *Aſiatick* manners, and ſingularly impartial, repreſents the *Arabs*, even

in the age of FERIDUN, as 'diſclaiming any 'kind of dependance on that monarch, ex-'ulting in their liberty, delighting in elo-'quence, acts of liberality, and martial at-'chievements; and thus making the whole 'earth, ſays the poet, red as wine with the 'blood of their foes, and the air like a foreſt of 'canes with their tall ſpears.' With ſuch a character they were likely to conquer any country that they could invade; and if ALEXANDER had invaded their dominions, they would, unqueſtionably, have made an obſtinate, and probably a ſucceſsful, reſiſtance.

BUT I have detained you too long, Gentlemen, with a nation who have ever been my favourites, and hope, at our next anniverſary meeting, to travel with you over a part of *Aſia*, which exhibits a race of men diſtinct both from the *Hindus* and from the *Arabs*. In the mean time it ſhall be my care to ſuperintend the publication of your Tranſactions; in which, if the learned in *Europe* have not raiſed their expectations too high, they will not, I believe, be diſappointed: my own imperfect eſſays I always except; but, though my other engagements have prevented my attendance on your Society for the greateſt part of laſt year, and I have ſet an example of that freedom from reſtraint, without which no Society can flouriſh,

flouriſh, yet as my few hours of leiſure will now be devoted to *Sanſcrit* literature, I cannot but hope, though my chief object be a knowledge of *Hindu* law, to make ſome diſcovery in other ſciences, which I ſhall impart with humility, and which you will, I doubt not, receive with indulgence.

DIS-

DISSERTATION V.

ON THE

TARTARS.

BEING THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY FEB. 21, 1788.

AT the cloſe of my laſt addreſs to you, Gentlemen, I declared my deſign of introducing to your notice a people of *Aſia*, who ſeemed as different in moſt reſpects from the *Hindus* and *Arabs*, as thoſe two nations had been ſhewn to differ from each other; I mean the people whom we call *Tartars*: but I enter with extreme diffidence on my preſent ſubject, becauſe I have little knowledge of the *Tartarian* dialects; and the groſs errors of *European* writers on *Aſiatick* literature have long convinced me, that no ſatisfactory account can be given of any nation, with whoſe language we are not perfectly acquainted. Such evidence, however, as I have procured by attentive reading

reading and ſcrupulous inquiries, I will now lay before you, interſperſing ſuch remarks as I could not but make on that evidence, and ſubmitting the whole to your impartial deciſion.

CONFORMABLY to the method before adopted in deſcribing *Arabia* and *India*, I conſider *Tartary* alſo, for the purpoſe of this diſcourſe, on its moſt extenſive ſcale, and requeſt your attention, whilſt I trace the largeſt boundaries that are aſſignable to it. Conceive a line drawn from the mouth of the *Oby* to that of the *Dnieper*, and, bringing it back eaſtward croſs the *Euxine*, ſo as to include the peninſula of *Krim*, extend it along the foot of *Caucaſus*, by the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, to the *Caſpian* lake, from the oppoſite ſhore of which, follow the courſe of the *Jaihún* and the chain of *Caucaſian* hills as far as thoſe of *Imaus*; whence continue the line beyond the *Chineſe* wall to the White Mountain and the country of *Yetſo*; ſkirting the borders of *Perſia*, *India*, *China*, *Corea*, but including part of *Ruſſia*, with all the diſtricts which lie between the *Glacial* ſea and that of *Japan*. M. DE GUIGNES, whoſe great work on the *Huns* abounds more in ſolid learning than in rhetorical ornaments, preſents us, however, with a magnificent image of this wide region; deſcribing it as a ſtupendous edifice, the beams and pillars of which are many ranges

ranges of lofty hills, and the dome, one prodigious mountain, to which the *Chineſe* give the epithet of *celeſtial*, with a conſiderable number of broad rivers flowing down its ſides. If the manſion be ſo amazingly ſublime, the land around it is proportionably extended, but more wonderfully diverſified; for ſome parts of it are incruſted with ice, others parched with inflamed air, and covered with a kind of lava; here we meet with immenſe tracts of ſandy deſerts and foreſt almoſt impenetrable; there, with gardens, groves, and meadows, perfumed with muſks, watered by numberleſs rivulets, and abounding in fruits and flowers; and from eaſt to weſt lie many conſiderable provinces, which appear as valleys in compariſon of the hills towering above them, but in truth are the flat ſummits of the higheſt mountains in the world, or at leaſt the higheſt in *Aſia*. Near one fourth in latitude of this extraordinary region is in the ſame charming climate with *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Provence*; and another fourth in that of *England*, *Germany*, and the northern parts of *France*; but the *Hyperborean* countries can have few beauties to recommend them, at leaſt in the preſent ſtate of the earth's temperature: to the ſouth, on the frontiers of *Iràn* are the beautiful vales of *Soghd*, with the celebrated cities of *Samarkand* and *Bokhárà*; on thoſe of *Tibet* are the territories

of

of *Cashghar*, *Khotèn*, *Chegil*, and *Khátà*, all famed for perfumes, and for the beauty of their inhabitants; and on those of *China* lies the country of *Chin*, anciently a powerful kingdom; which name, like that of *Khátà*, has in modern times been given to the whole *Chinese* empire, where such an appellation would be thought an insult. We must not omit the fine territory of *Tancùt*, which was known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Suica*, and considered by them as the farthest eastern extremity of the habitable globe.

Scythia seems to be the general name which the ancient *Europeans* gave to as much as they knew of the country thus bounded and described; but, whether that word be derived, as Pliny seems to intimate, from *Sacai*, a people known by a similar name to the *Greeks* and *Persians*; or, as Bryant imagines, from *Cùthia*; or, as Colonel Vallancey believes, from words denoting *navigation*; or, as it might have been supposed, from a *Greek* root implying *wrath* and *ferocity*; this at least is certain, that as *India*, *China*, *Persia*, *Japan*, are not appellations of those countries in the languages of the nations who inhabit them, so neither *Scythia* nor *Tartary* are names by which the inhabitants of the country now under our consideration have ever distinguished themselves. *Tátáristán* is, indeed, a word used by the *Per-*

ſians for the ſouth-weſtern part of *Scythia*, where the muſk-deer is ſaid to be common; and the name *Tátár* is by ſome conſidered as that of a particular *tribe*; by others, as that of a ſmall river only; while *Túràn*, as oppoſed to *Iràn*, ſeems to mean the ancient dominion of *Afráſiáb* to the north and eaſt of the *Oxus*. There is nothing more idle than a debate concerning the names, which after all are of little conſequence, when our ideas are diſtinct without them. Having given, therefore, a correct notion of the country which I propoſe to examine, I ſhall not ſcruple to call it by the general name of *Tartary*, though I am conſcious of uſing a term equally improper in the pronunciation and the application of it.

TARTARY then, which contained, according to PLINY, an innumerable multitude of nations, by whom the reſt of *Aſia* and all *Europe* has in different ages been over-run, is denominated, as various images have preſented themſelves to various fancies, the great hive of the northern ſwarms, the nurſery of irreſiſtible legions, and, by a ſtronger metaphor, the foundery of the human race; but M. BAILLY, a wonderfully ingenious man, and a very lively writer, ſeems firſt to have conſidered it as the cradle of our ſpecies, and to have ſupported an opinion, that the whole ancient world was en-

lightened

lightened by ſciences brought from the moſt northern parts of *Scythia*, particularly from the banks of the *Jeniſea*, or from the *Hyperborean* regions: all the fables of old *Greece*, *Italy*, *Perſia*, *India*, he derives from the north; and it muſt be owned, that he maintains his paradox with acuteneſs and learning. Great learning and great acuteneſs, together with the charms of a moſt engaging ſtyle, were indeed neceſſary to render even tolerable a ſyſtem which places an earthly paradiſe, the gardens of *Heſperus*, the iſlands of the *Macares*, the groves of *Elyſium* if not of *Eden*, the heaven of INDIA, the *Periſtán*, or fairy-land, of the *Perſian* poets, with its city of diamonds and its country of *Shádcàm*, ſo named from *Pleaſure* and *Love*, not in any climate which the common ſenſe of mankind conſiders as the ſeat of delights, but beyond the mouth of the *Oby* in the Frozen Sea, in a region equalled only by that, where the wild imagination of DANTE led him to fix the worſt of criminals in a ſtate of puniſhment after death, and of which he could not, he ſays, even think without ſhivering. A very curious paſſage in a tract of PLUTARCH on the figure in the moon's orb, naturally induced M. BAILLY to place *Ogygia* in the north, and he concludes that iſland, as others have concluded rather fallaciouſly, to be

the Atlantis of PLATO, but is at a loſs to determine, whether it was *Iceland* or *Greenland*, *Spitzberg* or *New Zembla*. Among ſo many charms, it was difficult, indeed, to give a preference; but our philoſopher, though as much perplexed by an option of beauties as the ſhepherd of *Ida*, ſeems, on the whole, to think *Zembla* the moſt worthy of the golden fruit; becauſe it is indiſputably an iſland, and lies oppoſite to a gulph near the Continent, from which a great number of rivers deſcend into the ocean.

HE appears equally diſtreſſed among five nations, real and imaginary, to fix upon that which the *Greeks* named *Atlantes*; and his concluſion in both caſes muſt remind us of the Showman at *Eton*, who, having pointed out in his box all the crowned heads of the world, and being aſked by the ſchool-boys, who looked through the glaſs, which was the Emperor, which the Pope, which the Sultan, and which the Great Mogul, anſwered eagerly, "Which you pleaſe, young gentlemen, which "you pleaſe." His letters, however, to VOLTAIRE, in which he unfolds his new ſyſtem to his friend, whom he had not been able to convince, are by no means to be derided; and his general propoſition, that arts and ſciences had their ſource in *Tartary*, deſerves a longer examination than can be given to it in this Diſ-

courſe:

courſe: I ſhall, nevertheleſs, with your permiſſion, ſhortly diſcuſs the queſtion under the ſeveral heads that will preſent themſelves in order.

ALTHOUGH we may naturally ſuppoſe, that the numberleſs communities of *Tartars*, ſome of whom are eſtabliſhed in great cities, and ſome encamped on plains in ambulatory manſions, which they remove from paſture to paſture, muſt be as different in their features as in their dialects, yet among thoſe who have not emigrated into another country, and mixed with another nation, we may diſcern a family likeneſs, eſpecially in their eyes and countenance, and in that configuration of lineaments which we generally call a *Tartar* face; but, without making anxious inquiries, whether all the inhabitants of the vaſt region before deſcribed have ſimilar features, we may conclude, from thoſe whom we have ſeen, and from the original portraits of TAI'MU'R and his deſcendants, that the *Tartars*, in general, differ wholly in complexion and countenance from the *Hindus* and from the *Arabs*; an obſervation, which tends in ſome degree to confirm the account given by modern *Tartars* themſelves, of their deſcent from a common anceſtor. Unhappily their lineage cannot be proved by authentick pedigrees or hiſtorical monuments; for all their writings extant, even thoſe in the *Mogul* dia-

lect, are long ſubſequent to the time of MUHAMMED; nor is it poſſible to diſtinguiſh their genuine traditions from thoſe of the *Arabs*, whoſe religious opinions they have in general adopted. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, *Khwájah*, ſurnamed FAD'LU'LLAH, a native of *Kazvin*, compiled his account of the *Tartars* and *Mongals* from the papers of one PU'LA'D, whom the great-grandſon of HOLACU' had ſent into *Tátáriſtán* for the ſole purpoſe of collecting hiſtorical information; and the commiſſion itſelf ſhews, how little the *Tartarian* Princes really knew of their own origin. From this work of RASHI'D, and from other materials, ABU'LGHA'ZI', King of *Khwárezm*, compoſed in the *Mogul* language his Genealogical Hiſtory, which having been purchaſed from a merchant at *Bokhárà* by ſome *Swediſh* officers, priſoners of war in *Siberia*, has found its way into ſeveral *European* tongues: it contains much valuable matter, but, like all MUHAMMEDAN hiſtories, exhibits tribes or nations as individual ſovereigns; and if Baron DE TOTT had not ſtrangely neglected to procure a copy of the *Tartarian* hiſtory, for the original of which he unneceſſarily offered a large ſum, we ſhould probably have found, that it begins with an account of the Deluge, taken from the *Korán*, and proceeds to rank TURC, CHI'N,

CHI'N, TATA'R, and MONGAL, among the ſons of YA'FET. The genuine traditional hiſtory of the *Tartars*, in all the books that I have inſpected, ſeems to begin with OGHU'Z, as that of the *Hindus* does with RA'MA: they place their miraculous Hero and Patriarch four thouſand years before CHENGIZ KHA'N, who was born in the year 1164, and with whoſe reign their hiſtorical period commences. It is rather ſurpriſing, that M. BAILLY, who makes frequent appeals to Etymological arguments, has not derived OGYGES from OGHU'Z, and ATLAS from Altai, or the Golden Mountain of *Tartary*: the *Greek* terminations might have been rejected from both words; and a mere tranſpoſition of letters is no difficulty with an Etymologiſt.

MY remarks in this addreſs, Gentlemen, will be confined to the period preceding CHENGIZ; and although the learned labours of M. DE GUIGNES, and the Fathers VISDELOU, DEMAILLA, and GAUBIL, who have made an incomparable uſe of their *Chineſe literature*, exhibit probable accounts of the *Tartars* from a very early age, yet the old hiſtorians of *China* were not only foreign, but generally hoſtile, to them; and for both thoſe reaſons, either through ignorance or malignity, may be ſuſpected of miſrepreſenting their tranſactions: if they ſpeak truth, the ancient hiſtory

of the *Tartars* preſents us, like moſt other hiſtories, with a ſeries of aſſaſſinations, plots, treaſons, maſſacres, and all the natural fruits of ſelfiſh ambition. I ſhould have no inclination to give you a ſketch of ſuch horrors, even if the occaſion called for it; and will barely obſerve, that the firſt King of the *Hyhumnús*, or *Huns*, began his reign, according to VISDELOU, about three thouſand five hundred and ſixty years ago, not long after the time fixed in my former Diſcourſes for the firſt regular eſtabliſhment of the *Hindus* and *Arabs* in their ſeveral countries.

I. OUR firſt inquiry, concerning the languages and letters of the *Tartars*, preſents us with a deplorable void, or with a proſpect as barren and dreary as that of their deſerts. The *Tartars*, in general, had no literature (in this point all authorities appear to concur); the *Turcs* had no letters; the *Huns*, according to PROCOPIUS, had not even heard of them; the magnificent CHENGIZ, whoſe empire included an area of near eighty ſquare degrees, could find none of his own MONGALS, as the beſt authors inform us, able to write his diſpatches; and TAI'MU'R, a ſavage of ſtrong natural parts, and paſſionately fond of hearing hiſtories read to him, could himſelf neither write nor read. It is true, that IBNU ARABSHA'H mentions a ſet of characters, called *Dilberjin*, which were uſed in *Khátà*:

Khátà: "he had ſeen them," he ſays, "and "found them to conſiſt of forty-one letters, "a diſtinct ſymbol being appropriated to each "long and ſhort vowel, and to each conſonant "hard or ſoft, or otherwiſe varied in pronun-"ciation:" but *Khátà* was in ſouthern *Tartary*, on the confines of *India*; and, from his deſcription of the characters there in uſe, we cannot but ſuſpect them to have been thoſe of *Tibet*, which are manifeſtly *Indian*, bearing a greater reſemblance to thoſe of *Bengal* than to *Dévanágari*. The learned and eloquent *Arab* adds, "that the *Tatàrs* of *Khátà* write "in the *Dilberjìn* letters all their tales and hiſ-"tories; their journals, poems, and miſcel-"lanies; their diplomas, records of ſtate and "juſtice, the laws of CHENGIZ, their publick "regiſters, and their compoſitions of every "ſpecies." If this be true, the people of *Khátà* muſt have been a poliſhed and even a lettered nation; and it may be true, without affecting the general poſition, that the *Tartars* were illiterate; but IBNU ARABSHA'H was a profeſſed rhetorician, and it is impoſſible to read the original paſſage, without full conviction that his object in writing it was to diſplay his power of words in a flowing and modulated period. He ſays further, that in *Jaghatáë*, the people of *Oighúr*, as he calls them, have a ſyſtem

ſyſtem of *fourteen* letters only, denominated from themſelves *Oïghúrì*; and thoſe are the characters which the *Mongals* are ſuppoſed, by ſome authors, to have borrowed. *Abúlg'hazi* tells us only, that CHENGIZ employed the natives of *Eíghùr* as excellent penmen, but the *Chineſe* aſſert that he was forced to employ them, becauſe he had no writers at all among his natural born ſubjects; and we are aſſured by many, that KUBLAIKHA'N ordered letters to be invented for his nation by a *Tibetian*, whom he rewarded with the dignity of Chief *Lama*. The ſmall number of *Eighúrì letters* might induce us to believe, that they were *Zend* or *Pahlavì*, which muſt have been current in that country, when it was governed by the ſons of FERIDU'N; and if the alphabet aſcribed to the *Eighurians* by M. DES HAUTESRAYES be correct, we may ſafely decide, that in many of its letters it reſembles both the *Zend* and the *Syriack*, with a remarkable difference in the mode of connecting them; but, as we can ſcarce hope to ſee a genuine ſpecimen of them, our doubt muſt remain in regard to their form and origin. The page exhibited by HYDE as *Khatáyan* writing, is evidently a ſort of broken CU'SICK; and the fine manuſcript at *Oxford*, from which it was taken, is more probably a *Mendean* work on ſome re-

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ligious ſubject, than, as he imagined, a code of *Tartarian* laws. That very learned man appears to have made a worſe miſtake in giving us for *Mongal* characters a page of writing, which has the appearance of *Japaneſe* or mutilated *Chineſe* letters.

If the *Tartars* in general, as we have every reaſon to believe, had no written memorials, it cannot be thought wonderful, that their languages, like thoſe of *America*, ſhould have been in perpetual fluctuation, and that more than fifty dialects, as Hyde had been credibly informed, ſhould be ſpoken between *Moſcow* and *China*, by the many kindred tribes, or their ſeveral branches, which are enumerated by Abu'lgha'zi'. What thoſe dialects are, and whether they really ſprang from a common ſtock, we ſhall probably learn from Mr. Pallas, and other indefatigable men employed by the *Ruſſian Court*; and it is from the *Ruſſians* that we muſt expect the moſt accurate information concerning their *Aſiatick* ſubjects. I perſuade myſelf, that if their inquiries be judiciouſly made and faithfully reported, the reſult of them will prove, that all the languages properly *Tartarian* aroſe from one common ſource; excepting always the jargons of ſuch wanderers or mountaineers, as, having long been divided from the main body of the nation, muſt

muſt in a courſe of ages have framed ſeparate idioms for themſelves. The only *Tartarian* language of which I have any knowledge is, the *Turkiſh* of *Conſtantinople*, which is, however, ſo copious, that whoever ſhall know it perfectly, will eaſily underſtand, as we are aſſured by intelligent authors, the dialects of *Tátáriſtân*; and we may collect from ABU'L-GHA'ZI', that he would find little difficulty in the *Calmac* and the *Mogul*. I will not offend your ears by a dry catalogue of ſimilar words in thoſe different languages; but a careful inveſtigation has convinced me, that as the *Indian* and *Arabian* tongues are ſeverally deſcended from a common parent, ſo thoſe of *Tartary* might be traced to one ancient ſtem, eſſentially differing from the two others. It appears indeed, from a ſtory told by ABU'LGHA'ZI', that the *Viràts* and the *Mongals* could not underſtand each other; but no more can the *Danes* and the *Engliſh*, yet their dialects, beyond a doubt, are branches of the ſame *Gothick tree*. The dialect of the *Moguls*, in which ſome hiſtories of TAI'MU'R and his deſcendants were originally compoſed, is called in *India*, where a learned native ſet me right when I uſed another word, *Turcì*; not that it is preciſely the ſame with the *Turkiſh* of the *Othmánlús*, but the two idioms differ, perhaps, leſs

leſs than *Swediſh* and *German*, or *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe*, and certainly leſs than *Welſh* and *Iriſh*. In hope of aſcertaining this point, I have long ſearched in vain for the original works aſcribed to TAI'MU'R and BA'BER; but all the *Moguls* with whom I have converſed in this country, reſemble the crow in one of their popular fables, who, having long affected to walk like a pheaſant, was unable after all to acquire the gracefulneſs of that elegant bird, and in the mean time unlearned his own natural gait: they have not learned the dialect of *Perſia*, but have wholly forgotten that of their anceſtors.

A VERY conſiderable part of the old *Tartarian* language, which in *Aſia* would probably have been loſt, is happily preſerved in *Europe*; and if the ground-work of the Weſtern *Turkiſh*, when ſeparated from the *Perſian* and *Arabick*, with which it is embelliſhed, be a branch of the loſt *Oghúzian* tongue, I can aſſert with confidence, that it has not the leaſt reſemblance either to *Arabick* or *Sanſcrit*, and muſt have been invented by a race of men wholly diſtinct from the *Arabs* or *Hindus*. This fact alone overſets the ſyſtem of M. BAILLY, who conſiders the *Sanſcrit*, of which he gives in ſeveral places a moſt erroneous account, as a fine monument of his primeval *Scythians*, the

the preceptors of mankind, and planters of a ſublime philoſophy even in *India*; for he holds it an inconteſtible truth, that a language which is dead, ſuppoſes a nation which is deſtroyed; and he ſeems to think ſuch reaſoning perfectly deciſive of the queſtion, without having recourſe to aſtronomical arguments, or the ſpirit of ancient inſtitutions: for my part, I deſire no better proof than that which the language of the BRA'HMANS affords, of an immemorial and total difference beween the Savages of the mountains, as the old *Chineſe* juſtly called the *Tartars*, and the ſtudious, placid, contemplative inhabitants of theſe *Indian* plains.

II. THE geographical reaſoning of M. BAILLY may, perhaps, be thought equally ſhallow, if not inconſiſtent in ſome degree with itſelf. "An adoration of the Sun and of the Fire," ſays he, "muſt neceſſarily have ariſen in a cold "region; therefore, it muſt have been foreign "to *India*, *Perſia*, *Arabia*; therefore it muſt "have been derived from *Tartary*." No man, I believe, who has travelled in winter through *Bahàr*, or has even paſſed a cold ſeaſon at *Calcutta*, within the tropick, can doubt that the ſolar warmth is often deſirable by all, and might have been conſidered as adorable by the ignorant, in theſe climates; or that the re-

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turn of ſpring deſerves all the ſalutations which it receives from the *Perſian* and *Indian* poets; not to rely on certain hiſtorical evidence, that ANTARAH, a celebrated warriour and bard, actually periſhed with cold on a mountain of *Arabia*. To meet, however, an objection, which might naturally be made to the voluntary ſettlement, and amazing population, of his primitive race in the icy regions of the north, he takes refuge in the hypotheſis of M. BUFFON, who imagines that our whole globe was at firſt of a white heat, and has been gradually cooling from the poles to the equator; ſo that the *Hyperborean* countries had once a delightful temperature, and *Siberia* itſelf was even hotter than the climate of our temperate zones, that is, was in too hot a climate, by his firſt propoſition, for the primary worſhip of the ſun. That the temperature of countries has not ſuſtained a change in the lapſe of ages, I will by no means inſiſt; but we can hardly reaſon concluſively from a variation of temperature to the cultivation and diffuſion of ſcience. If as many female elephants and tygreſſes as we now find in *Bengal* had formerly littered in the *Siberian* foreſts, and if their young, as the earth cooled, had ſought a genial warmth in the climates of the ſouth, it would not follow that other ſavages, who migrated in the

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ſame direction, and on the ſame account, brought religion and philoſophy, language and writing, art and ſcience, into the ſouthern latitudes.

We are told by Abu'lgha'zi', that the primitive religion of human creatures, or the pure adoration of One Creator, prevailed in *Tartary* during the firſt generations from Ya'fet, but was extinct before the birth of Oghu'z, who reſtored it in his dominions; that, ſome ages after him, the *Mongals* and the *Turcs* relapſed into groſs idolatry; but that Chengiz was a Theiſt, and, in a converſation with the *Muhammedan* Doctors, admitted their arguments for the being and attributes of the Deity to be unanſwerable, while he conteſted the evidence of their Prophet's legation. From old *Grecian* authorities we learn, that the *Maſſagetæ* worſhipped the Sun; and the narrative of an embaſſy from Justin to the Khaka'n, or Emperor, who then reſided in a fine vale near the ſource of the *Irtiſh*, mentions the *Tartarian* ceremony of purifying the *Roman Ambaſſadors*, by conducting them between two fires. The *Tartars* of that age are repreſented as adorers of the four elements, and believers in an inviſible ſpirit, to whom they ſacrificed bulls and rams. Modern travellers relate, that, in the feſtivals of ſome *Tartarian* tribes, they pour a few drops of

of a conſecrated liquor on the ſtatues of their Gods; after which an attendant ſprinkles a little of what remains three times towards the ſouth in honour of fire, towards the weſt and eaſt in honour of water and air, and as often towards the north in honour of the earth, which contained the reliques of their deceaſed anceſtors: now all this may be very true, without proving a national affinity between the *Tartars* and *Hindus*; for the *Arabs* adored the planets and the powers of nature; the *Arabs* had carved images, and made libations on a black ſtone; the *Arabs* turned in prayer to different quarters of the heavens; yet we know with certainty, that the *Arabs* are a diſtinct race from the *Tartars*; and we might as well infer, that they were the ſame people, becauſe they had each his *Nomades*, or wanderers for paſture; and becauſe the *Turcmans*, deſcribed by IBNU ARABSHA'H, and by him called *Tátárs*, are like moſt *Arabian* tribes, paſtoral and warlike, hoſpitable and generous, wintering and ſummering on different plains, and rich in herds and flocks, horſes and camels; but this agreement in manners proceeds from the ſimilar nature of their ſeveral deſerts, and their ſimilar choice of a free rambling life, without evincing a community of origin, which they could ſcarce have had without preſerving ſome remnant at leaſt of a common language.

Many Lamas, we are aſſured, or Prieſts of Buddha, have been found ſettled in *Siberia*; but it can hardly be doubted, that the *Lamas* had travelled thither from *Tibet*, whence it is more than probable, that the religion of the *Buddha's* was imported into Southern *Chineſe Tartary*; ſince we know, that rolls of *Tibetian* writing have been brought even from the borders of the *Caſpian*. The complexion of Buddha himſelf, which, according to the *Hindus*, was between white and ruddy, would perhaps have convinced M. Bailly, had he known the *Indian* tradition, that the laſt great legiſlator and God of the Eaſt was a *Tartar*; but the *Chineſe* conſider him as a native of *India*; the *Bráhmins* inſiſt, that he was born in a foreſt near *Gayâ*; and many reaſons may lead us to ſuſpect, that his religion was carried from the weſt and the ſouth to thoſe eaſtern and northern countries, in which it prevails. On the whole, we meet with few or no traces in *Scythia* of *Indian* rites and ſuperſtitions, or of that poetical mythology with which the *Sanſcrit* poems are decorated; and we may allow the *Tartars* to have adored the Sun with more reaſon than any ſouthern people, without admitting them to have been the ſole original inventors of that univerſal folly: we may even doubt the originality of their veneration for the four elements, which forms a principal part of the

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ritual introduced by ZERA'TUSHT, a native of *Rai* in *Perſia*, born in the reign of GUSHTASF, whoſe ſon PASHU'TEN is believed by the *Párſi's* to have reſided long in *Tartary*, at a place called *Cangidir*, where a magnificent palace is ſaid to have been built by the father of CYRUS, and where the *Perſian* prince, who was a zealot in the new faith, would naturally have diſſeminated its tenets among the neighbouring *Tartars*.

OF any philoſophy, except natural ethicks, which the rudeſt ſociety requires and experience teaches, we find no more veſtiges in *Aſiatick Tartary* and *Scythia*, than in ancient *Arabia*; nor would the name of a philoſopher and a *Scythian* have been ever connected if *Anacharſis* had not viſited *Athens* and *Lydia* for that inſtruction which his birth-place could not have afforded him. But ANACHARSIS was the ſon of a *Grecian* woman, who had taught him her language, and he ſoon learned to deſpiſe his own. He was unqueſtionably a man of a ſound underſtanding and fine parts; and among the lively ſayings which gained him the reputation of a wit even in *Greece*, it is related by DIOGENES LAERTIUS, that when an *Athenian* reproached him with being a *Scythian*, he anſwered, 'My country is indeed a diſgrace to 'me, but thou art a diſgrace to thy *country*.' What his country was in regard to manners and

civil duties, we may learn from his fate in it; for when, on his return from *Athens*, he attempted to reform it by intruding the wiſe laws of his friend SOLON, he was killed in a hunting party with an arrow ſhot by his own brother, a *Scythian* chieftain. Such was the philoſophy of M. BAILLY's ATLANTES, the firſt and moſt enlightened of nations! We are aſſured, however, by the learned author of the *Dabiſtán*, that the *Tartars* under CHENGIZ and his deſcendants were lovers of truth; and would not even preſerve their lives by a violation of it. DE GUIGNES aſcribes the ſame veracity, the parent of all virtues, to the *Huns*; and STRABO, who might only mean to laſh the *Greeks* by praiſing *Barbarians* as HORACE extolled the wandering *Scythians*, merely to ſatirize his luxurious countrymen, informs us, that the nations of *Scythia* deſerved the praiſe due to wiſdom, heroick friendſhip, and juſtice; and this praiſe we may readily allow them on his authority, without ſuppoſing them to have been the preceptors of mankind.

As to the laws of ZAMOLXIS, concerning whom we know as little as of the *Scythian* DEUCALION, or of ABARIS the *Hyperborean*, and to whoſe ſtory even HERODOTUS gave no credit, I lament, for many reaſons, that if ever they exiſted they have not been preſerved: it is certain that a ſyſtem of laws, called *Yáſác*,

has

has been celebrated in *Tartary* ſince the time of CHENGIZ, who is ſaid to have republiſhed them in his empire, as his inſtitutions were afterwards adopted and enforced by TAIMU'R; but they ſeem to have been a common or traditionary law, and were probably not reduced into writing till CHENGIZ had conquered a nation who were able to write.

III. HAD the religious opinions and allegorical fables of the *Hindus* been actually borrowed from *Scythia*, travellers muſt have diſcovered in that country ſome antient monuments of them, ſuch as pieces of groteſque ſculpture, images of the Gods and *Avatárs*, and inſcriptions on pillars or in caverns, analogous to thoſe which remain in every part of the weſtern peninſula, or to thoſe which many of us have ſeen in *Bahàr* and at *Banáras*; but (except a few detached idols) the only great monuments of *Tartarian* antiquity are a line of ramparts on the weſt and eaſt of the *Caſpian*, aſcribed indeed by ignorant *Muſelmans* to YA'JU'J and *Májúj*, or *Gog and Magog*, that is to the *Scythians*, but manifeſtly raiſed by a very different nation, in order to ſtop their predatory inroads through the paſſes of *Caucaſus*. The *Chineſe* wall was built or finiſhed on a ſimilar conſtruction, and for a ſimilar purpoſe, by an Emperor who died only two hundred and ten years before the beginning of our era; and the

other mounds were very probably conſtructed by the old *Perſians*, though, like many works of unknown origin, they are given to SECANDER; not the *Macedonian*, but a more ancient hero, ſuppoſed by ſome to have been *Jemiſhíd.* It is related, that pyramids and tombs have been found in *Tátáriſtán*, or Weſtern *Scythia*, and ſome remnants of edifices in the lake *Saiſan*; that veſtiges of a deſerted city have been recently diſcovered by the *Ruſſians* near the *Caſpian* ſea, and the Mountain of Eagles; and that golden ornaments and utenſils, figures of elks and other quadrupeds in metal, weapons of various kinds, and even implements for mining, but made of copper inſtead of iron, have been dug up in the country of the *Tſhúdès*; whence M. BAILLY infers, with great reaſon, the high antiquity of that people: but the high antiquity of the *Tartars*, and their eſtabliſhment in that country near four thouſand years ago, no man diſputes; we are enquiring into their ancient religion and philoſophy, which neither ornaments of gold, nor tools of copper, will prove to have had an affinity with the religious rites and the ſciences of *India.* The golden utenſils might poſſibly have been fabricated by the *Tartars* themſelves; but it is poſſible too that they were carried from *Rome* or from *China*, whence occaſional embaſſies were ſent

to

to the Kings of *Eighùr*. Towards the end of the tenth century, the *Chineſe* Emperor diſpatched an ambaſſador to a prince named ERSLA'N, which, in the *Turkiſh* of *Conſtantinople*, ſignifies a lion, who reſided near the Golden Mountain, in the ſame ſtation, perhaps, where the *Romans* had been received in the middle of the ſixth century. The *Chineſe* on his return home reported the *Eighuris* to be a grave people, with fair complexions, diligent workmen, and ingenious artificers, not only in gold, ſilver, and iron, but in jaſper and fine ſtones; and the *Romans* had before deſcribed their magnificent reception in a rich palace adorned with *Chineſe* manufactures: but theſe times were comparatively modern; and even if we ſhould admit that the *Eighùris*, who are ſaid to have been governed for a period of two thouſand years by an *I'decùt*, or ſovereign of their own race, were, in ſome very early age, a literary and poliſhed nation, it would prove nothing in favour of the *Huns*, *Turcs*, *Mongals*, and other ſavages to the north of *Pekin*, who ſeem in all ages, before MUHAMMED, to have been equally ferocious and illiterate.

WITHOUT actual inſpection of the manuſcripts that have been found near the *Caſpian*, it would be impoſſible to give a correct opinion concerning them; but one of them, deſcribed

as written on blue ſilky paper in letters of gold and ſilver, not unlike *Hebrew*, was probably a *Tibetian* compoſition of the ſame kind with that which lay near the ſource of the *Irtiſh*, and of which COSSIANO, I believe, made the firſt accurate verſion. Another, if we may judge from the deſcription of it, was probably modern *Turkiſh*; and none of them could have been of great antiquity.

IV. FROM ancient monuments, therefore, we have no proof that the *Tartars* were themſelves well inſtructed, much leſs that they inſtructed the world; nor have we any ſtronger reaſon to conclude from their general manners and character, that they had made an early proficiency in arts and ſciences: even of poetry, the moſt univerſal and moſt natural of the fine arts, we find no genuine ſpecimens aſcribed to them, except ſome horrible war-ſongs, expreſſed in *Perſian* by ALI OF YEZD, and poſſibly invented by him. After the conqueſt of *Perſia* by the *Mongals*, their princes, indeed, encouraged learning, and even made aſtronomical obſervations at *Samarkand*; and, as the *Turks*, became poliſhed by mixing with the *Perſians* and *Arabs*, though their very nature, as one of their own writers confeſſes, had before been like an incurable diſtemper, and their minds clouded with ignorance. Thus alſo the *Man-*

cheu

cheu monarchs of *China* have been patrons of the learned and ingenious; and the Emperor TIENLONG is, if he be now living, a fine *Chineſe* poet. In all theſe inſtances the *Tartars* have reſembled the *Romans*; who, before they had ſubdued *Greece*, were little better than tigers in war, and *Fauns* or *Sylvans* in ſcience and art.

BEFORE I left *Europe*, I had inſiſted, in converſation, that the *Tuzuc*, tranſlated by Major DAVY, was never written by TAIMU'R himſelf, at leaſt not as CÆSAR wrote his Commentaries, for one very plain reaſon, That no *Tartarian* king of his age could write at all; and in ſupport of my opinion I had cited IBNU ARABSHA'H, who, though juſtly hoſtile to the ſavage by whom his native city *Damaſcus* had been ruined, yet praiſes his talents and the real greatneſs of his mind, but adds, "He was wholly illiterate; "he neither read nor wrote any thing; and he "knew nothing of *Arabick*, though of *Perſian*, "*Turkiſh*, and the *Mogul* dialect he knew as "much as was ſufficient for his purpoſe, and "no more: he uſed with pleaſure to hear hiſ-"tories read to him, and ſo frequently heard "the ſame book, that he was able by memory "to correct an inaccurate reader." This paſſage had no effect on the tranſlator, whom great and learned men in *India* had aſſured, it ſeems, that the work was authentic; by which he means

means compoſed by the conqueror himſelf: but the great in this country might have been unlearned, or the learned might not have been great enough to anſwer any leading queſtion in a manner that oppoſed the declared inclination of a *Britiſh* inquirer; and in either caſe, ſince no witneſſes are named, ſo general a reference to them will hardly be thought concluſive evidence. On my part I will name a *Muſelman*, whom we all know, and who has enough both of greatneſs and of learning to decide the queſtion both impartially and ſatisfactorily: the *Nawwàb* MOZUFFER JUNG informed me of his own accord, that no man of ſenſe in *Hinduſtán* believed the work to have been compoſed by TAIMU'R, but that his favourite, ſurnamed HINDU SHA'H, was known to have written that book and others aſcribed to his patron, after many confidential diſcourſes with the *Emìr*, and perhaps nearly in the Prince's words as well as in his perſon; a ſtory which ALI OF YEZD, who attended the court of TAIMU'R, and has given us a flowery panegyrick inſtead of a hiſtory, renders highly probable, by confirming the latter part of the *Arabian* account, and by total ſilence as to the literary productions of his maſter. It is true, that a very ingenious, but indigent, native, whom DAVY ſupported, has given me a written memorial on the ſubject, in which he mentions TAIMU'R as the

author

author of two works in TURKISH; but the credit of his information is overſet by a ſtrange apocryphal ſtory of a king of *Yemen* who invaded, he ſays, the *Emír*'s dominions, and in whoſe library the manuſcript was afterwards found, and tranſlated by order of *Alíſhír*, firſt miniſter of TAIMU'R's grandſon; and Major DAVY himſelf, before he departed from *Bengal*, told me, that he was greatly perplexed by finding in a very accurate and old copy of the *Tuzuc*, which he deſigned to republiſh with conſiderable additions, a particular account written, unqueſtionably, by TAIMU'R of his own death. No evidence, therefore, has been adduced to ſhake my opinion, that the *Moguls* and *Tartars*, before their conqueſt of *India* and *Perſia*, were wholly unlettered; although it may be poſſible that, even without art or ſcience, they had, like the *Huns*, both warriors and law-givers in their own country ſome centuries before the birth of CHRIST.

IF learning was ever anciently cultivated in the regions to the north of *India*, the ſeats of it, I have reaſon to ſuſpect, muſt have been *Eighúr*, *Caſhghar*, *Khatá*, *Chín*, *Tancút*, and other countries of *Chineſe Tartary*, which lie between the thirty-fifth and forty-fifth degrees of northern latitude; but I ſhall, in another Diſcourſe, produce my reaſons for ſuppoſing that

that thoſe very countries were peopled by a race allied to the *Hindus*, or enlightened at leaſt by their vicinity to *India* and *China*; yet in *Tancút*, which by ſome is annexed to *Tibet*, and even among its old inhabitants, the *Seres*, we have no certain accounts of uncommon talents or great improvements: they were famed, indeed, for the faithful diſcharge of moral duties, for a pacifick diſpoſition, and for that longevity which is often the reward of patient virtues and a calm temper; but they are ſaid to have been wholly indifferent, in former ages, to the elegant arts, and even to commerce; though FADLU'LLAH had been informed, that, near the cloſe of the thirteenth century, many branches of natural philoſophy were cultivated in *Cam-chew*, then the metropolis of *Serica*.

WE may readily believe thoſe who aſſure us that ſome tribes of wandering *Tartars* had real ſkill in applying herbs and minerals to the purpoſes of medicine, and pretended to ſkill in magic; but the general character of their nation ſeems to have been this: they were profeſſed hunters or fiſhers, dwelling on that account in foreſts or near great rivers, under huts or rude tents, or in waggons drawn by their cattle from ſtation to ſtation; they were dextrous archers, excellent horſemen, bold comba-

tants,

tants, appearing often to flee in diſorder for the ſake of renewing their attack with advantage; drinking the milk of mares and eating the fleſh of colts; and thus in many reſpects reſembling the old *Arabs*, but in nothing more than in their love of intoxicating liquors, and in nothing leſs than in a taſte for poetry and the improvement of their language.

Thus has it been proved, and, in my humble opinion, beyond controverſy, that the far greater part of *Aſia* has been peopled, and immemorially poſſeſſed, by three conſiderable nations, whom, for want of better names, we may call *Hindus*, *Arabs*, and *Tartars*; each of them divided and ſubdivided into an infinite number of branches, and all of them ſo different in form and features, language, manners, and religion, that if they ſprang originally from a common root, they muſt have been ſeparated for ages: whether more than three primitive ſtocks can be found, or, in other words, whether the *Chineſe*, *Japaneſe*, and *Perſians*, are entirely diſtinct from them, or formed by their intermixture, I ſhall hereafter, if your indulgence to me continue, diligently inquire. To what concluſions thoſe inquiries will lead, I cannot yet clearly diſcern; but if they lead to truth, we ſhall not regret our journey through this dark region of ancient hiſtory, in which, while we pro-

ceed ſtep by ſtep, and follow every glimmering of certain light that preſents itſelf, we muſt beware of thoſe falſe rays and luminous vapours which miſlead *Aſiatick* travellers by an appearance of water, but are found, on a near approach, to be deſerts of ſand.

DISSERTATION VI.

ON THE

PERSIANS.

BEING THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY FEB. 19, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I TURN with delight from the vaſt mountains and barren deſerts of *Túràn*, over which we travelled laſt year with no perfect knowledge of our courſe, and requeſt you now to accompany me on a literary journey through one of the moſt celebrated and moſt beautiful countries in the world; a country, the hiſtory and languages of which, both ancient and modern, I have long attentively ſtudied, and on which I may without arrogance promiſe you more poſitive information, than I could poſſibly procure on a nation ſo diſunited and ſo unlettered as the *Tartars*: I mean that which *Europeans* improperly call *Perſia*, the name of a ſingle province being applied to the whole Empire of *Iràn*,

Iràn, as it is correctly denominated by the preſent natives of it, and by all the learned *Muſelmans* who reſide in theſe *Britiſh* territories. To give you an idea of its largeſt boundaries, agreeably to my former mode of deſcribing *India*, *Arabia*, and *Tartary*, between which it lies, let us begin with the ſource of the great *Aſſyrian* ſtream *Euphrates*, (as the *Greeks*, according to their cuſtom, were pleaſed to miſcall the *Foràt)* and thence deſcend to its mouth in the Green Sea, or *Perſian* Gulf, including in our line ſome conſiderable diſtricts and towns on both ſides of the river; then coaſting *Perſia* properly ſo named, and other *Irànian* provinces, we come to the Delta of the *Sindhu* or *Indus*; whence aſcending to the mountains of *Caſhghar*, we diſcover its fountains and thoſe of the *Jaihùn*, down which we are conducted to the *Caſpian*, which formerly perhaps it entered, though it loſe itſelf now in the ſands and lakes of *Khwârezm*: we next are led from the ſea of *Khozar*, by the banks of the *Cur*, or *Cyrus*, and along the *Caucaſean* ridges, to the ſhore of the *Euxine*, and thence by the ſeveral *Grecian* ſeas, to the point, whence we took our departure, at no conſiderable diſtance from the *Mediterranean*. We cannot but include the Lower *Aſia* within this outline, becauſe it was unqueſtionably a part of the *Perſian*, if not of the old *Aſſyrian* Empire;

Empire; for we know that it was under the dominion of CAIKHOUSRAU; and DIODORUS, we find, asserts, that the kingdom of *Troas* was dependent on *Assyria*, since PRIAM implored and obtained succours from his Emperor TEUTAMES, whose name approaches nearer to TAHMU'RAS, than to that of any other *Assyrian* Monarch. Thus may we look on *Iràn* as the noblest island (for so the *Greeks* and the *Arabs* would have called it), or at least as the noblest peninsula, on this habitable globe; and if M. BAILLY had fixed on it as the Atlantis of PLATO, he might have supported his opinion with far stronger arguments than any that he has adduced in favour of *New Zembla*. If the account, indeed, of the Atlantes be not purely an *Egyptian* or an *Utopian* fable, I should be more inclined to place them in *Iràn*, than in any region with which I am acquainted.

IT may seem strange, that the ancient history of so distinguished an Empire should be yet so imperfectly known; but very satisfactory reasons may be assigned for our ignorance of it: the principal of them are, the superficial knowledge of the *Greeks* and *Jews*, and the loss of *Persian* archives or historical compositions. That the *Grecian* writers, before XENOPHON, had no acquaintance with *Persia*, and that all their accounts of it are wholly fabulous, is a paradox too extravagant to be seriously maintained; but

their connection with it in war or peace had, indeed, been generally confined to bordering kingdoms, under feudatory princes; and the first *Persian* Emperor whose life and character they seem to have known with tolerable accuracy, was the great CYRUS, whom I call, without fear of contradiction, CAIKHOSRAU; for I shall then only doubt that the KHOSRAU of FIRDAUSI′ was the CYRUS of the first *Greek* historian, and the Hero of the oldest political and moral romance, when I doubt that LOUIS QUATORZE and LEWIS *the Fourteenth* were one and the same *French* King: it is utterly incredible, that two different Princes of *Persia* should each have been born in a foreign and hostile territory; should each have been doomed to death in his infancy by his maternal grandfather, in consequence of portentous dreams, real or invented; should each have been saved by the remorse of his destined murderer; and should each, after a similar education among herdsmen, as the son of a herdsman, have found means to revisit his paternal kingdom, and have delivered it, after a long and triumphant war, from the tyrant who had invaded it; should have restored it to the summit of power and magnificence. Whether so romantic a story, which is the subject of an Epic Poem as majestick and entire as the Iliad, be

be hiſtorically true, we may feel perhaps an inclination to doubt; but it cannot with reaſon be denied, that the outline of it related to a ſingle Hero, whom the *Aſiaticks*, converſing with the Father of *European* hiſtory, deſcribed according to their popular traditions by his true name, which the *Greek* alphabet could not expreſs: nor will a difference of names affect the queſtion; ſince the *Greeks* had little regard for truth, which they ſacrificed willingly to the graces of their language, and the nicety of their ears; and, if they could render foreign words melodious, they were never ſolicitous to make them exact. Hence they probably formed CAMBYSES from CA'MBAKHSH, or *Granting Deſires*, a title rather than a name; and XERXES from SHI'RU'YI, a Prince and Warrior in the *Sháhnámah*, or from SHI'RSHA'H, which might alſo have been a title; for the *Aſiatick* Princes have conſtantly aſſumed new titles or epithets at different periods of their lives, or on different occaſions; a cuſtom, which we have ſeen prevalent in our own times both in *Iràn* and *Hinduſtan*, and which has been a ſource of great confuſion even in the ſcriptural accounts of *Babylonian* occurrences. Both *Greeks* and *Jews* have, in fact, accommodated *Perſian* names to their own articulation; and both ſeem to have diſregarded the native litera-

ture of *Iràn*, without which they could at moſt attain a general and imperfect knowledge of the country. As to the *Perſians* themſelves, who were contemporary with the *Jews* and *Greeks*, they muſt have been acquainted with the hiſtory of their own times, and with the traditional accounts of paſt ages; but, for a reaſon which will preſently appear, they choſe to conſider CAYU'MERS as the founder of their empire; and, in the numerous diſtractions which followed the overthrow of DA'RA', eſpecially in the great revolution on the defeat of YEZDEGIRD, their civil hiſtories were loſt, as thoſe of *India* have unhappily been, from the ſolicitude of the prieſts, the only depoſitaries of their learning, to preſerve their books of law and religion at the expence of all others: hence it has happened, that nothing remains of genuine *Perſian* hiſtory before the dynaſty of SA'SA'N, except a few ruſtick traditions and fables, which furniſhed materials for the *Sháhnámah*, and which are ſtill ſuppoſed to exiſt in the *Pahlaví* language. The annals of the *Píſhdádí* or *Aſſyrian* race muſt be conſidered as dark and fabulous; and thoſe of the *Cayání* family, or the *Medes* and *Perſians*, as heroick and poetical; though the lunar eclipſes, ſaid to be mentioned by PTOLEMY, fix the time of GUSHTASP, the Prince by whom ZERA'TUSHT was protected. Of the *Parthian* Kings deſcended from ARSHAC or

or ARSACES, we know little more than the names; but the *Sásáns* had so long an intercourse with the Emperors of *Rome* and *Byzantium*, that the period of their dominion may be called an historical age.

IN attempting to ascertain the beginning of the *Assyrian* Empire, we are deluded, as in a thousand instances, by names arbitrarily imposed. It had been settled by chronologers, that the first monarchy established in *Persia* was the *Assyrian*; and NEWTON, finding some of opinion, that it rose in the first century after the Flood, but unable by his own calculations to extend it farther back than seven hundred and ninety years before CHRIST, rejected part of the old system and adopted the rest of it; concluding, that the *Assyrian* Monarchs began to reign about two hundred years after SOLOMON, and that in all preceding ages, the government of *Irán* had been divided into several petty States and Principalities. Of this opinion I confess myself to have been; when, disregarding the wild chronology of the *Muselmáns* and *Gabrs*, I had allowed the utmost natural duration to the reigns of eleven *Písdádí* Kings, without being able to add more than a hundred years to NEWTON's computation. It seems, indeed, unaccountably strange, that, although ABRAHAM had found a regular monarchy in *Egypt*; although the

 kingdom

kingdom of *Yemen* had juſt pretenſions to very high antiquity; although the *Chineſe* in the *twelfth* century before our era had made approaches at leaſt to the preſent form of their extenſive dominions; and although we can hardly ſuppoſe the firſt *Indian* Monarchs to have reigned leſs than three thouſand years ago; yet *Perſia*, the moſt delightful, the moſt compact, the moſt deſirable country of them all, ſhould have remained for ſo many ages unſettled and diſunited. A fortunate diſcovery, for which I was firſt indebted to MI'R MUHAMMED HUSAIN, one of the moſt intelligent *Muſelmàns* in *India*, has at once diſſipated the cloud, and caſt a gleam of light on the primeval hiſtory of *Iràn*, and of the human race, of which I had long deſpaired, and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter.

THE rare and intereſting tract on twelve different religions, entitled *The Dabiſtàn*, and compoſed by a *Mohammedan* traveller, a native of *Caſhmìr*, named MOHSAN, but diſtinguiſhed by the aſſumed ſurname of FA'NI', or *Periſhable*, begins with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of HU'SHANG, which was long anterior to that of ZERA'TUSHT, but had continued to be ſecretly profeſſed by many learned *Perſians* even to the author's time; and ſeveral

of the moſt eminent of them, diſſenting in many points from the *Gabrs*, and perſecuted by the ruling powers of their country, had retired to *India*, where they compiled a number of books, now extremely ſcarce, which Mohsan had peruſed, and with the writers of which, or with many of them, he had contracted an intimate friendſhip. From them he learned, that a powerful monarchy had been eſtabliſhed for ages in *Ìràn*, before the acceſſion of Cayu'mers; that it was called the *Mahábádian* dynaſty, for a reaſon which will ſoon be mentioned; and that many Princes, of whom ſeven or eight only are named in *The Dabiſtàn*, and among them Mahbul, or Maha' Beli, had raiſed their Empire to the zenith of human glory. If we can rely on this evidence, which to me appears unexceptionable, the *Ìrànian* Monarchy muſt have been the oldeſt in the world; but it will remain dubious, to which of the three ſtocks, *Hindu*, *Arabian*, or *Tartar*, the firſt Kings of *Ìràn* belonged; or whether they ſprang from a fourth race diſtinct from any of the others: and theſe are queſtions which we ſhall be able, I imagine, to anſwer preciſely, when we have carefully inquired into the languages and letters, religion and philoſophy, and incidentally into the arts and ſciences, of the ancient *Perſians*.

I. In the new and important remarks which I am going to offer on the ancient languages and characters of *Iràn*, I am ſenſible, that you muſt give me credit for many aſſertions, which on this occaſion it is impoſſible to prove; for I ſhould ill deſerve your indulgent attention, if I were to abuſe it by repeating a dry liſt of detached words, and preſenting you with a vocabulary inſtead of a diſſertation; but, ſince I have no ſyſtem to maintain, and have not ſuffered imagination to delude my judgement; ſince I have habituated myſelf to form opinions of men and things from evidence, which is the only ſolid baſis of civil, as experiment is of natural, knowledge; and ſince I have maturely conſidered the queſtions which I mean to diſcuſs; you will not, I am perſuaded, ſuſpect my teſtimony, or think that I go too far, when I aſſure you, that I will aſſert nothing poſitively, which I am not able ſatisfactorily to demonſtrate. When Muhammed was born, and Anu'shi'rava'n, whom he calls the *Juſt King*, ſat on the throne of *Perſia*, two languages appear to have been generally prevalent in the great Empire of *Iràn*; that of the Court, thence named *Derì*, which was only a refined and elegant dialect of the *Pársì*, ſo called from the province of which *Shìràz* is now the capital; and that of the Learned, in which moſt

books

books were compoſed, and which had the name of *Pahlavì*, either from the *Heroes* who ſpoke it in former times, or from *Pahlu*, a tract of land, which included, we are told, ſome conſiderable cities of *Iràk*. The ruder dialects of both were, and I believe ſtill are, ſpoken by the ruſticks in ſeveral provinces; and in many of them, as *Herát*, *Zábul*, *Siſtàn*, and others, diſtinct idioms were vernacular, as it happens in every kingdom of great extent. Beſides the *Pársì* and *Pahlavì*, a very ancient and abſtruſe tongue was known to the Prieſts and Philoſophers, called the *language of the Zend*, becauſe a book on religious and moral duties, which they held ſacred, and which bore that name, had been written in it; while the *Pázend*, or Comment on that work, was compoſed in *Pahlavì*, as a more popular idiom; but a learned follower of ZERA'TUSHT, named BAHMAN, who lately died at *Calcutta*, where he had lived with me as a *Perſian* reader about three years, aſſured me, that the *letters* of his Prophet's book were properly called *Zend*, and the *language*, *Aveſtà*, as the words of the *Véda's* are *Sanſcrit*, and the characters, *Nágarì*; or as the old *Saga's* and poems of *Iſeland* were expreſſed in *Runick* letters. Let us however, in compliance with cuſtom, give the name of *Zend* to the ſacred language of *Perſia*, until we

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can find, as we ſhall very ſoon, a fitter appellation for it. The *Zend* and the old *Pahlavì* are almoſt extinct in *Iràn*; for among ſix or ſeven thouſand *Gabrs* who reſide chiefly at *Yezd*, and in *Cirmàn* there are very few who can read *Pahlavì*, and ſcarce any who even boaſt of knowing the *Zend*; while the *Pársì*, which remains almoſt pure in the *Sháhnámah*, has now become, by the intermixture of numberleſs *Arabick* words, and many imperceptible changes, a new language, exquiſitely poliſhed by a ſeries of fine writers in proſe and verſe, and analogous to the different idioms gradually formed in *Europe* after the ſubverſion of the *Roman* Empire: but with modern *Perſians* we have no concern in our preſent enquiry, which I confine to the ages that preceded *The Mohammedan* conqueſt.

HAVING twice read the works of FIRDAUSI' with great attention, ſince I applied myſelf to the ſtudy of old *Indian* literature, I can aſſure you, with confidence, that hundreds of *Pársì* nouns are pure *Sanſcrit*, with no other change than ſuch as may be obſerved in the numerous *Cháſhá*'s, or vernacular dialects, of *India*; that very many imperatives are the roots of *Sanſcrit* verbs; and that even the moods and tenſes of the *Perſian* verb ſubſtantive, which is the model of all the reſt, are deducible from the *Sanſcrit* by an eaſy and

clear

clear analogy. We may hence conclude, that the *Pársì* was derived, like the various *Indian* dialects, from the language of the *Bráhmans*; and I must add, that in the pure *Persian* I find no trace of any *Arabian* tongue, except what proceeded from the known intercourse between the *Persians* and *Arabs*, especially in the time of BAHRA'M, who was educated in *Arabia*, and whose *Arabick* verses are still extant, together with his heroick line in *Deri*, which many suppose to be the first attempt at *Persian* versification in *Arabian* metre. But, without having recourse to other arguments, *the composition f words*, in which the genius of the *Persian* delights, and which that of the *Arabick* abhors, is a decisive proof, that the *Pársì* sprang from an *Indian*, and not from an *Arabian* stock. Considering languages as mere instruments of knowledge, and having strong reason to doubt the existence of genuine books in *The Zend* or *Pahlavì* (especially since the well-informed author of *The Dabistàn* affirms the work of ZERA'TUSHT to have been lost, and its place supplied by a recent compilation), I had no inducement, though I had an opportunity, to learn what remains of those ancient languages; but I often conversed on them with my friend BAHMAN, and both of us were convinced, after full consideration, that the *Zend* bore a strong resemblance to *Sanscrit*, and the *Pahlavì* to *Arabick*. He had at my

my requeſt tranſlated into *Pahlavì* the fine inſcription, exhibited in the *Guliſtàn*, on the diadem of CYRUS; and I had the patience to read the liſt of words from the *Pázend*, in the Appendix to the *Farhangi Jehángíri*. This examination gave me perfect conviction, that the *Pahlavì* was a dialect of the *Chaldaick*; and of this curious fact I will exhibit a ſhort proof.

BY the nature of the *Chaldean* tongue moſt words ended in the firſt long vowel like *ſhemià*, Heaven; and that very word, unaltered in a ſingle letter, we find in the *Pazend*, together with *lailià*, night, *meyà*, water, *nírà*, fire, *matrà*, rain, and a multitude of others, all *Arabick* or *Hebrew*, with a *Chaldean* termination. So *zamar*, by a beautiful metaphor from *pruning trees*, means in *Hebrew* to *compoſe verſes*; and thence, by an eaſy tranſition, to *ſing* them: and in *Pahlavì*, we ſee the verb *zamrúniten*, to *ſing*, with its forms *zamrúnemi*, I ſing, and *zamrúníd*, he ſang; the verbal terminations of the *Perſian* being added to the *Chaldaick* root. Now all thoſe words are integral parts of the language, not adventitious to it, like the *Arabick* nouns and verbals engrafted on modern *Perſian*; and this diſtinction convinces me, that the dialect of the *Gabrs*, which they pretend to be that of ZERA'TUSHT, and of which BAHMAN gave me a variety of written ſpecimens, is a late

invention

invention of their Priefts, or fubfequent at leaft to the *Mufelman* invafion. For, although it may be poffible, that a few of their facred books were preferved, as he ufed to affert, in fheets of lead or copper at the bottom of wells, near *Yezd*, yet as the conquerors had not only a fpiritual but a political intereft in perfecuting a warlike, robuft, and indignant race of irreconcileable conquered fubjects, a long time muft have elapfed before the hidden fcriptures could have been fafely brought to light; and few who could perfectly underftand them, muft then have remained: but, as they continued to profefs among themfelves the religion of their forefathers, it became expedient for the *Mubeds* to fupply the loft or mutilated works of their legiflator by new compofitions, partly from their imperfect recollection, and partly from fuch moral and religious knowledge as they gleaned, moft probably, among the *Chriftians*, with whom they had an intercourfe. One rule we may fairly eftablifh in deciding the queftion, Whether the books of the modern *Gabrs* were anterior to the invafion of the *Arabs?* When an *Arabick* noun occurs in them, changed only by the fpirit of the *Chaldean* idiom, as *wertà* for *werd*, a rofe; *daba* for *dhahab*, gold, or *demàn* for *zemàn*, time, we may allow it to have been ancient

Pahlavì;

Pahlavì; but when we meet with verbal nouns or infinitives evidently formed by the rules of *Arabian* grammar, we may be ſure, th t the phraſes in which they occur are comparatively modern; and not a ſingle paſſage which BAHMAN produced from the books of his religion would abide this teſt.

WE come now to the language of the *Zend*. And here I muſt impart a diſcovery which I lately made, and from which we may draw the moſt intereſting conſequences. M. ANQUETIL, who had the merit of undertaking a voyage to *India*, in his earlieſt youth, with no other view than to recover the writings of ZERA'TUSHT, and who would have acquired a brilliant reputation in *France*, if he had not ſullied it by his immoderate vanity and virulence of temper, which alienated the good-will even of his own countrymen, has exhibited in his work, entitled *Zendáveſtà*, two vocabularies in *Zend* and *Pahlavì*, which he had found in an approved collection of *Rawáyát*, or *Traditional Pieces*, in modern *Perſian*. Of his *Pahlavì* no more needs be ſaid, than that it ſtrongly confirms my opinion concerning the *Chaldaick* origin of that language; but when I peruſed the *Zend* gloſſary, I was inexpreſſibly ſurpriſed to find, that ſix or ſeven words in ten were pure *Sanſcrit*, and even ſome of their inflexions

flexions formed by the rules of the *Vyácaran*; as *yushmácam*, the genitive plural of *yushmad*. Now M. ANQUETIL most certainly, and the *Persian* compiler most probably, had no knowledge of *Sanscrit*; and could not, therefore, have invented a list of *Sanscrit* words: it is, therefore, an authentick list of *Zend* words which had been preserved in books or by tradition; and it follows, that the language of the *Zend* was at least a dialect of the *Sanscrit*, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the *Prácrit*, or other popular idioms, which we know to have been spoken in *India* two thousand years ago.

FROM all these facts it is a necessary consequence, that the oldest discoverable languages of *Persia* were *Chaldaick* and *Sanscrit*; and that, when they had ceased to be vernacular, the *Pahlavì* and *Zend* were deduced from them respectively; and the *Pársì* either from the *Zend*, or immediately from the dialect of the *Bráhmans*: but all had, perhaps, a mixture of *Tartarian*; for the best lexicographers assert, that numberless words in ancient *Persian* are taken from the language of the *Cimmerians*, or the *Tartars* of *Ripchák*: so that the *three* families, whose lineage we have examined in former Discourses, had left visible traces of themselves in *Iràn*, long before the *Tartars* and *Arabs* had rushed from their deserts, and returned

returned to that very country from which in all probability they originally proceeded, and which the *Hindus* had abandoned in an earlier age, with poſitive commands from their legiſlators to reviſit it no more.

I CLOSE this head with obſerving, that no ſuppoſition of a mere political or commercial intercourſe between the different nations will account for the *Sanſcrit* and *Chaldaick* words which we find in the old *Perſian* tongues; becauſe they are, in the firſt place, too numerous to have been introduced by ſuch means, and, ſecondly, are not the names of exotick animals, commodities, or arts, but thoſe of material elements, parts of the body, natural objects and relations, affections of the mind, and other ideas common to the whole race of man.

IF a nation of *Hindus*, it may be urged, ever poſſeſſed or governed the country of *Iràn*, we ſhould find in the very ancient ruins of the temple or palace now called *the Throne of* JEMSHI'D, ſome inſcriptions in *Dévanágarì*, or at leaſt in the characters on the ſtones at *Elephanta*, where the ſculpture is unqueſtionably *Indian*, or in thoſe on the *Staff* of FI'RU'Z SHA'H, which exiſt in the heart of *India*; and ſuch inſcriptions we probably ſhould have found, if that edifice had not been erected after the migration of the *Bráhmans* from *Iràn*, and the

the violent ſchiſm in the *Perſian* religion, of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak: for, although the popular name of the building at *Iſtakhr*, or *Perſepolis*, be no certain proof that it was raiſed in the time of JEMSHI'D, yet ſuch a fact might eaſily have been preſerved by tradition; and we ſhall ſoon have abundant evidence, that the temple was poſterior to the reign of the *Hindu* Monarchs. The *cypreſſes*, indeed, which are repreſented with the figures in proceſſion, might induce a reader of the *Shánámah* to believe, that the ſculptures related to the new faith introduced by ZERA'TUSHT; but as a cypreſs is a beautiful ornament, and as many of the figures appear inconſiſtent with the reformed adoration of fire, we muſt have recourſe to ſtronger proofs, that the *Takhti* JEMSHI'D was erected after CAYU'MERS. The building has lately been viſited, and the characters on it examined, by Mr. FRANKLIN; from whom we learn, that NIEBUHR has delineated them with great accuracy: but without ſuch teſtimony I ſhould have ſuſpected the correctneſs of the delineation; becauſe the *Daniſh* traveller has exhibited two inſcriptions in modern *Perſian*, and one of them from the ſame place, which cannot have been exactly tranſcribed. They are very elegant verſes of NI'ZA'MI' and SADI', *on the inſtability of human greatneſs*; but ſo ill engraved, or ſo ill copied, that if I had

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not had them nearly by art, I ſhould not have been able to read them; and M. ROUSSEAU of *Iſfahàn*, who tranſlated them with ſhameful inaccuracy, muſt have been deceived by the badneſs of the copy, or he never would have created a new King WAKAM, by forming one word of JIM, and the particle prefixed to it. Aſſuming, however, that we may reaſon as concluſively on the characters publiſhed by NIEBUHR as we might on the monuments themſelves, were they now before us, we may begin with obſerving, as CHARDIN had obſerved on the very ſpot, that they bear no reſemblance whatever to the letters uſed by the *Gabrs* in their copies of the *Vendidàd*. This I once urged, in an amicable debate with BAHMAN, as a proof, that the *Zend* letters were a modern invention; but he ſeemed to hear me without ſurpriſe; and inſiſted that the letters to which I alluded, and which he had often ſeen, were monumental characters never uſed in books, and intended either to conceal ſome religious myſteries from the vulgar, or to diſplay the art of the Sculptor, like the embelliſhed *Cúfick* and *Nágarì* in ſeveral *Arabian* and *Indian* monuments. He wondered, that any man could ſeriouſly doubt the antiquity of the *Pahlavì* letters; and, in truth, the inſcription behind the horſe of *Ruſtam*, which NIEBUHR has

has alſo given us, is apparently *Pahlavì*, and might with ſome pains be decyphered. That character was extremely rude, and ſeems to have been written, like the *Roman* and the *Arabick*, in a variety of hands; for I remember to have examined a rare collection of old *Perſian* coins in the Muſeum of the great Anatomiſt WILLIAM HUNTER, and though I believe the legends to be *Pahlavì*, and had no doubt that they were coins of *Parthian* Kings, yet I could not read the inſcriptions without waſting more time than I had then at command, in comparing the letters, and aſcertaining the proportions in which they ſeverally occurred. The groſs *Pahlavì* was improved by ZERA'TUSHT, or his diſciples, into an elegant and perſpicuous character, in which the *Zendáveſtà* was copied; and both were written from the right hand to the left like other *Chaldaick* alphabets, for they are manifeſtly both of *Chaldean* origin; but the *Zend* has the ſingular advantage of expreſſing all the long and ſhort vowels, by diſtinct marks, in the body of each word, and all the words are diſtinguiſhed by full-points between them; ſo that if modern *Perſian* were unmixed with *Arabick*, it might be written in *Zend* with the greateſt convenience, as anyone may perceive by copying in that character a few pages of the *Shánámah*.

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As to the unknown inſcriptions in the palace of JEMSHI'D, it may reaſonably be doubted, whether they contain a ſyſtem of letters which any nation ever adopted. In *five* of them, the letters, which are ſeparated by points, may be reduced to forty, at leaſt I can diſtinguiſh no more eſſentially different; and they all ſeem to be regular variations and compoſitions of a ſtraight line and an angular figure like the head of a javelin, or a leaf (to uſe the language of botaniſts) *hearted and lanced.* Many of the *Runick* letters appear to have been formed of ſimilar elements; and it has been obſerved, that the writings at *Perſepolis* bear a ſtrong reſemblance to that which the *Iriſh* call *Ogham.* The word *Agam*, in *Sanſcrit*, means *myſterious knowledge*; but I dare not affirm, that the two words had a common origin; and only mean to ſuggeſt, that if the characters in queſtion be really alphabetical, they were probably ſecret and ſacerdotal; or a mere cypher, perhaps, of which the prieſts only had a key. They might, I imagine, be decyphered, if the language were certainly known; but in all the other inſcriptions of the ſame ſort, the characters are too complex, and the variations of them too numerous, to admit an opinion, that they could be ſymbols of articulate ſound; for even the *Nágarì* ſyſtem, which has more diſtinct letters

letters than any known alphabet, consists only of forty-nine simple characters, two of which are mere substitutions, and four of little use in *Sanscrit*, or in any other language; while the more complicated figures, exhibited by NIEBUHR, must be as numerous at east as the *Chinese* keys, which are the signs of ideas only, and some of which resemble the old *Persian* letters at *Istakhr*: the *Danish* traveller was convinced, from his own observation, that they were written from the left hand, like all the characters used by *Hindu* nations. But I must leave this dark subject, which I cannot illuminate, with a remark formerly made by myself, that the square *Chaldaick* letters, a few of which are found in the *Persian* ruins, appear to have been originally the same with the *Dévanágarì*, before the latter were enclosed, as we now see them, in angular frames.

II. THE primeval religion of *Iràn*, if we rely on the authorities adduced by MOHSANI FA'NI', was that which NEWTON calls the oldest (and it may justly be called the noblest) of all religions; "a firm belief that one Supreme GOD "made the world by his power, and continually governed it by his providence; a "pious fear, love, and adoration of him; a "due reverence for parents and aged persons; "a fraternal affection for the whole human "species; and a compassionate tenderness even

"for the brute creation." A ſyſtem of devotion ſo pure and ſublime could hardly, among mortals, be of long duration; and we learn from *The Dabiſtàn*, that the popular worſhip of the *Iránians*, under HU'SHANG, was purely *Sabian*; a word of which I cannot offer any certain etymology, but which has been deduced by grammarians from *Sabà*, a *hoſt*, and particularly the *hoſt of heaven*, or the *celeſtial bodies*, in the adoration of which the *Sabian* ritual is believed to have conſiſted. There is a deſcription in the learned work juſt mentioned of the ſeveral *Perſian* temples dedicated to the ſun and planets, of the images adored in them, and of the magnificent proceſſions to them on preſcribed feſtivals, one of which is probably repreſented by ſculpture in the ruined city of JEMSHI'D. But the planetary worſhip in *Perſia* ſeems only a part of a far more complicated religion which we now find in theſe *Indian* provinces; for MOHSAN aſſures us, that, in the opinion of the beſt informed *Perſians* who profeſſed the faith of HU'SHANG, diſtinguiſhed from that of ZERA'TUSHT, the firſt monarch of *Iràn* and of the whole earth was MAHA'BA'D; a word apparently *Sanſcrit*, who divided the people into four orders, the *religious*, the *military*, the *commercial*, and the *ſervile*; to which he aſſigned names unqueſtionably the ſame in their origin with thoſe now applied to the four

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primary classes of the *Hindus*. They added, that he received from the Creator, and promulgated among men, *a sacred book in a heavenly language*, to which the *Muselman* author gives the *Arabick* title of *Desátír*, or Regulations, but the original name of which he has not mentioned; and that *fourteen* MAHA'BA'DS had appeared or would appear in human shapes for the government of this world. Now when we know that the *Hindus* believe in *fourteen* MENU'S, or celestial personages with similar functions, the first of whom left a book of *regulations*, or *divine ordinances*, which they hold equal to the *Véda*, and the language of which they believe to be that of the Gods, we can hardly doubt, that the first corruption of the purest and oldest religion was the system of *Indian* theology invented by the *Bráhmans*, and prevalent in those territories where the book of MAHA'BA'D, or MENU, is at this hour the standard of all religious and moral duties. The accession of CAY'UMERS to the throne of *Persia*, in the eighth or ninth century before CHRIST, seems to have been accompanied by a considerable revolution both in government and religion. He was most probably of a different race from the *Mahábádians*, who preceded him, and began perhaps the new system of national faith which HU'SHANG, whose name it bears, completed; but the reformation

was partial; for, while they rejected the complex polytheiſm of their predeceſſors, they retained the laws of MAHA'BA'D with a ſuperſtitious veneration for the ſun, the planets, and fire; thus reſembling the *Hindu* ſects called *Sauras* and *Ságnicas*; the ſecond of which is very numerous at *Banares*, where many *agnihótras* are continually blazing; and where the *Ságnicas*, when they enter on their ſacerdotal office, kindle, with two pieces of the hard wood *Semí*, a fire which they keep lighted through their lives for their nuptial ceremony, the performance of ſolemn ſacrifices, the obſequies of departed anceſtors, and their own funeral pile. This remarkable rite was continued by ZERA'TUSHT; who reformed the old religion by the addition of genii, or angels, preſiding over months and days; of new ceremonies in the veneration ſhewn to fire; of a new work which he pretended to have received from heaven; and, above all, by eſtabliſhing the actual adoration of One Supreme Being. He was born, according to MOHSAN, in the diſtrict of *Rai*; and it was he, not, as AMMIANUS aſſerts, his protector GUSHTASB, who travelled into *India*, that he might receive information from the *Bráhmans* in theology and ethicks. It is barely poſſible that PYTHAGORAS knew him in the capital of *Irak*; but the *Grecian* ſage muſt then

then have been far advanced in years, and we have no certain evidence of an intercourſe between the two philoſophers. The reformed religion of *Perſia* continued in force till that country was ſubdued by the *Muſelmans*; and, without ſtudying the *Zend*, we have ample information concerning it in the modern *Perſian* writings of ſeveral who profeſſed it. BAHMAN always named ZERA'TUSHT with reverence; but he was in truth a pure Theiſt, and ſtrongly diſclaimed any adoration of the *fire* or other elements: he denied that the doctrine of two coeval principles, ſupremely good and ſupremely bad, formed any part of his faith; and he often repeated with emphaſis the verſes of FIRDAUSI on the proſtration of CYRUS and his paternal grandfather before the blazing altar: "Think "not that they were adorers of fire, for that "element was only an exalted object, on the "luſtre of which they fixed their eyes; they "humbled themſelves a whole week before "GOD; and, if thy underſtanding be ever ſo "little exerted, thou muſt acknowledge thy "dependence on the Being ſupremely pure." In a ſtory, SADI, near the cloſe of his beautiful *Búſtàn*, concerning the idol of SO'MANA'T'H, or MAHA'DE'VA, confounds the religion of the *Hindus* with that of the *Gabrs*, calling the *Bráhmans* not only *Moghs* (which might be juſtified by a paſſage in the *Meſnavì*), but even

readers

readers of the *Zend* and *Pázend*. Now, whether this confusion proceeded from real or pretended ignorance, I cannot decide; but am as firmly convinced that the doctrines of the *Zend* were distinct from those of the *Veda*, as I am that the religion of the *Bráhmans*, with whom we converse every day, prevailed in *Persia* before the accession of CAYU'MERS, whom the *Parsí's*, from respect to his memory, consider as the first of men, although they believe in *an universal deluge* before his reign.

WITH the religion of the old *Persians* their *philosophy* (or as much as we know of it) was intimately connected; for they were assiduous observers of the luminaries, which they adored and established, according to MOHSAN, who confirms, in some degree, the fragments of BEROSUS, a number of artificial cycles with distinct names, which seem to indicate a knowledge of the period in which the equinoxes appear to revolve: they are said also to have known the most wonderful powers of nature, and thence to have acquired the fame of magicians and enchanters. But I will only detain you with a few remarks on that metaphysical theology which has been professed immemorially by a numerous sect of *Persians* and *Hindus*, was carried in part into *Greece*, and prevails even now among the learned *Muselmans*, who some-

ſometimes avow it without reſerve. The modern philoſophers of this perſuaſion are called *Súfis*, either from the *Greek* word for a *ſage*, or from the *woollen* mantle which they uſed to wear in ſome provinces of *Perſia*. Their fundamental tenets are, That nothing exiſts abſolutely but God; that the human ſoul is an emanation from his eſſence, and, though divided for a time from its heavenly ſource, will be finally re-united with it; that the higheſt poſſible happineſs will ariſe from its re-union; and that the chief good of mankind, in this tranſitory world, conſiſts in as perfect an *union* with the Eternal Spirit as the incumbrances of a mortal frame will allow; that, for this purpoſe, they ſhould break all *connection* (or *taálluk*, as they call it) with extrinſick objects, and paſs through life without *attachments*, as a ſwimmer in the ocean ſtrikes freely without the impediment of clothes; that they ſhould be ſtraight and free as the cypreſs, whoſe fruit is hardly perceptible, and not ſink under a load like fruit-trees *attached* to a trellis; that if mere earthly charms have power to influence the ſoul, the *idea* of celeſtial beauty muſt overwhelm it in extatick delight; that, for want of apt words, to expreſs the divine perfections and the ardour of devotion, we muſt borrow ſuch expreſſions as approach the neareſt to our ideas, and ſpeak of *Beauty* and

Love

Love in a tranſcendant and myſtical ſenſe; that, like a *reed* torn from its native bank, like *wax* ſeparated from its delicious honey, the ſoul of man bewails its diſunion with *melancholy muſick*, and ſheds burning tears, like the lighted taper, waiting paſſionately for the moment of its extinction, as a diſengagement from earthly trammels, and the means of returning to its Only Beloved. Such in part (for I omit the minuter and more ſubtile metaphyſicks of the *Súfis*, which are mentioned in *The Dabiſtàn*) is the wild and enthuſiaſtick religion of the modern *Perſian* poets, eſpecially of the ſweet HA'FIZ and the great *Maulavì*: ſuch is the ſyſtem of the *Védánti* philoſophers and beſt lyrick poets of *India*; and as it was a ſyſtem of the higheſt antiquity in both nations, it may be added to the many other proofs of an immemorial affinity between them.

III. ON the ancient *monuments* of *Perſian* ſculpture and architecture, we have already made ſuch obſervations as were ſufficient for our purpoſe; nor will you be ſurpriſed at the diverſity between the figures at *Elephanta*, which are manifeſtly *Hindu*, and thoſe at *Perſepolis*, which are merely *Sabian*, if you concur with me in believing, that the *Takhti Jemſhid* was erected after the time of CAY'UMERS, when the *Bráhmans* had migrated from *Irán*,

and

and when their intricate mythology had been ſuperſeded by the ſimpler adoration of the planets and of fire.

IV. As to the *ſciences* or *arts* of the old *Perſians*, I have little to ſay; and no complete evidence of them is found to exiſt. MOHSAN ſpeaks more than once of ancient verſes in the *Pahlavì* language; and BAHMAN aſſured me, that ſome ſcanty remains of them had been preſerved. Their muſic and painting, which NAZA'MI celebrated, have irrecoverably periſhed; and in regard to MA'NI', the painter and impoſtor, whoſe book of drawings called *Artang*, which he pretended to be divine, is ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed by the *Chineſe*, in whoſe dominions he had ſought refuge, the whole tale is too modern to throw any light on the queſtions before us concerning the origin of nations and the inhabitants of the primitive world.

THUS has it been proved, by clear evidence and plain reaſoning, that a powerful monarchy was eſtabliſhed in *Irán* long before the *Aſſyrian*, or *Píſhdádì*, government; that it was in truth a *Hindu* monarchy, though if any chuſe to call it *Cuſian*, *Caſdean*, or *Scythian*, we ſhall not enter into a debate on mere names; that it ſubſiſted many centuries; and that its hiſtory has been ingrafted on that of the *Hindus*, who founded the monarchies of *Ayódhyà* and *Indrapreſtha*;

preſtha; that the language of the firſt *Perſian* empire was the mother of the *Sanſcrit*, and conſequently of the *Zend* and *Parſi*, as well as of *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Gothick*; that the language of the *Aſſyrians* was the parent of *Chaldaick* and *Pahlavi*; and that the primary *Tartarian* language alſo had been current in the ſame empire; although, as the *Tartars* had no books, or even letters, we cannot with certainty trace their unpoliſhed and variable idioms. We diſcover therefore in *Perſia*, at the earlieſt dawn of hiſtory, the three diſtinct races of men, whom I deſcribed on former occaſions as poſſeſſors of *India*, *Arabia*, *Tartary*; and whether they were collected in *Iràn* from diſtant regions, or diverged from it, as from a common center, we ſhall eaſily determine by the following conſiderations.

Let us obſerve in the firſt place the central poſition of *Iràn*, which is bounded by *Arabia*, by *Tartary*, and by *India*; whilſt *Arabia* lies contiguous to *Iràn* only, but is remote from *Tartary*, and divided even from the ſkirts of *India* by a conſiderable gulf; no country, therefore, but *Perſia* ſeems likely to have ſent forth its colonies to all the kingdoms of *Aſia*. The *Bráhmans* could never have migrated from *India* to *Iràn*, becauſe they are expreſsly forbidden by their oldeſt exiſting laws to leave the region which they inhabit at this day; the

Arabs

Arabs have not even a tradition of an emigration into *Perſia* before MOHAMMED, nor had they indeed any inducement to quit their beautiful and extenſive domains: and as to the *Tartars*, we have no trace in hiſtory of their departure from their plains and foreſts till the invaſion of the *Medes*, who, according to etymologiſts, were the ſons of MADAI; and even they were conducted by princes of an *Aſſyrian* family. The *three* races therefore, whom we have already mentioned (and more than three we have not yet found), migrated from *Iràn*, as from their common country. And thus the *Saxon* chronicle, I preſume from good authority, brings the firſt inhabitants of *Britain* from *Armenia*; while a late very learned writer concludes, after all his laborious reſearches, that the *Goths* or *Scythians* came from *Perſia*; and another contends with great force, that both the *Iriſh* and old *Britons* proceeded ſeverally from the borders of the *Caſpian*; a coincidence of concluſions from different media, by perſons wholly unconnected, which could ſcarce have happened, if they were not grounded on ſolid principles. We may therefore hold this propoſition firmly eſtabliſhed, That *Iràn*, or *Perſia* in its largeſt ſenſe, was the true center of population, of knowledge, of languages, and of arts; which, inſtead of travelling weſtward only, as it has been fancifully ſuppoſed, or eaſtward, as might

might with equal reaſon have been aſſerted, were expanded in all directions to all the regions of the world in which the *Hindu* race had ſettled under various denominations. But, whether *Aſia* has not produced other races of men diſtinct from the *Hindus*, the *Arabs*, or the *Tartars*, or whether any apparent diverſity may not have ſprung from an intermixture of thoſe three in different proportions, muſt be the ſubject of a future enquiry.

DIS-

DISSERTATION VII.

ON THE

CHINESE.

BEING THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE DELIVERED TO THE SOCIETY FEB. 25, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH we are at this moment confiderably nearer to the frontier of *China* than to the fartheft limit of the *Britifh* dominions in *Hinduftán*, yet the firft ftep that we fhall take in the philofophical journey which I propofe for your entertainment at the prefent meeting, will carry us to the utmoft verge of the habitable globe known to the beft geographers of old *Greece* and *Egypt*; beyond the boundary of whofe knowledge we fhall difcern, from the heights of the northern mountains, an Empire nearly equal in furface to a fquare of fifteen degrees; an Empire, of which I do not

 mean

mean to aſſign the preciſe limits, but which we may conſider, for the purpoſe of this Diſſertation, as embraced on two ſides by *Tartary* and *India*, while the ocean ſeparates its other ſides from various *Aſiatick* iſles of great importance in the commercial ſyſtem of *Europe*: annexed to that immenſe tract of land is the peninſula of *Corea*, which a vaſt oval baſon divides from *Nifon* or *Japan*; a celebrated and imperial iſland, bearing in arts and in arms, in advantage of ſituation, but not in felicity of government, a pre-eminence among eaſtern kingdoms analogous to that of *Britain* among the nations of the weſt. So many climates are included in ſo prodigious an area, that while the principal emporium of *China* lies nearly under the tropick, its metropolis enjoys the temperature of *Samarkand*: ſuch too is the diverſity of ſoil in its fifteen provinces, that, while ſome of them are exquiſitely fertile, richly cultivated, and extremely populous, others are barren and rocky, dry and unfruitful, with plains as wild or mountains as rugged as any in *Scythia*; and thoſe either wholly deſerted, or peopled by ſavage hordes, who, if they be not ſtill independent, have been very lately ſubdued by the perfidy, rather than the valour, of a monarch, who has perpetuated his own breach of faith in a *Chineſe* poem, of which I have ſeen a tranſlation.

THE

The word *China*, concerning which I ſhall offer ſome new remarks, is well known to the people whom we call the *Chineſe*; but they never apply it (I ſpeak of the learned among them) to themſelves, or to their country: themſelves, according to Father Visdelou, they deſcribe as the *people of* Han, or of ſome other illuſtrious family, by the memory of whoſe actions they flatter their national pride; and their country they call *Chúm-cuë*, or the *Central Kingdom*, repreſenting it in their ſymbolical characters by a parallelogram exactly biſected: at other times they diſtinguiſh it by the words *Tien-hia*, or *What is under Heaven*, meaning *all that is valuable on Earth*. Since they never name themſelves with moderation, they would have no right to complain, if they knew that *European* authors have ever ſpoken of them in the extremes of applauſe or of cenſure: by ſome they have been extolled as the oldeſt and the wiſeſt, as the moſt learned and moſt ingenious, of nations; whilſt others have derided their pretenſions to antiquity, condemned their government as abominable, and arraigned their manners as inhuman, without allowing them an element of ſcience, or a ſingle art, for which they have not been indebted to ſome more ancient and more civilized race of men. The truth perhaps lies, where we uſually find it,

between

between the extremes; but it is not my deſign to accuſe or to defend the *Chineſe*, to depreſs or to aggrandize them: I ſhall confine myſelf to the diſcuſſion of a queſtion connected with my former Diſcourſes, and far leſs eaſy to be ſolved than any hitherto ſtarted: "Whence came "the ſingular people, who long had governed "*China*, before they were conquered by the "*Tartars*?" On this problem, the ſolution of which has no concern, indeed, with our political or commercial intereſts, but a very material connection, if I miſtake not, with intereſts of a higher nature, four opinions have been advanced, and all rather peremptorily aſſerted, than ſupported by argument and evidence. By a few writers it has been urged, that the *Chineſe* are an original race, who have dwelled for ages, if not from eternity, in the land which they now poſſeſs: by others, and chiefly by the miſſionaries, it is aſſerted, that they ſprang from the ſame ſtock with the *Hebrews* and *Arabs*: a third aſſertion is, that of the *Arabs* themſelves, and of M. PAUW, who hold it indubitable that they were originally *Tartars* deſcending in wild clans from the ſteeps of *Imaus*: and a fourth, at leaſt as dogmatically pronounced as any of the preceding, is that of the *Bráhmans*, who decide, without allowing any appeal from their deciſion, that the *Chinas* (for

(for ſo they are named in *Sanſcrit*) were *Hindus* of the *Cſhatriya*, or military, claſs, who, abandoning the privileges of their tribe, rambled in different bodies to the north-eaſt of *Bengal*; and forgetting by degrees the rites and religion of their anceſtors, eſtabliſhed ſeparate principalities, which were afterwards united in the plains and valleys which are now poſſeſſed by them. If any one of the three laſt opinions be juſt, the firſt of them muſt neceſſarily be relinquiſhed; but of thoſe three, the firſt cannot poſſibly be ſuſtained; becauſe it reſts on no firmer ſupport than a fooliſh remark, whether true or falſe, that *Sem*, in *Chineſe*, means *life* and *procreation*; and becauſe a tea-plant is not more different from a palm, than a *Chineſe* from an *Arab*: they are men, indeed, as the tea and the palm are vegetables; but human ſagacity could not, I believe, diſcover any other trace of reſemblance between them. One of the *Arabs*, indeed, an account of whoſe voyage to *India* and *China* has been tranſlated by RENAUDOT, thought the *Chineſe* not only handſomer (according to his ideas of beauty) than the *Hindus*, but even more like his own countrymen in features, habiliments, carriages, manners and ceremonies; and this may be true, without proving an actual reſemblance between the *Chineſe* and *Arabs*, ex-

cept in dreſs and complexion. The next opinion is more connected with that of the *Bráhmans* than M. PAUW, probably, imagined; for though he tells us expreſsly, that by *Scythians* he meant the *Turks* or *Tartars*, yet the dragon on the ſtandard, and ſome other peculiarities, from which he would infer a clear affinity between the old *Tartars* and the *Chineſe*, belonged indubitably to thoſe *Scythians* who are known to have been *Goths*; and the *Goths* had manifeſtly a common lineage with the *Hindus*, if his own argument, in the Preface to his Reſearches, on the ſimilarity of language be, as all men agree it is, irrefragable. That the *Chineſe* were anciently of a *Tartarian* ſtock, is a propoſition, which I cannot otherwiſe diſprove for the preſent, than by inſiſting on the total diſſimilarity of the two races in manners and arts, particularly in the fine arts of imagination, which the *Tartars*, by their own account, never cultivated: but if we ſhew ſtrong grounds for believing that the firſt *Chineſe* were actually of an *Indian* race, it will follow, that M. PAUW and the *Arabs* are miſtaken: it is to the diſcuſſion of this new, and, in my opinion, very intereſting point, that I ſhall confine the remainder of my Diſcourſe.

IN the *Sanſcrit* Inſtitutes of Civil and Religious Duties, revealed, as the *Hindus* believe, by

by MENU, the ſon of BRAHMA', we find the following curious paſſage: "Many families of "the military claſs, having gradually aban-"doned the ordinances of the *Véda*, and "the company of *Bráhmans*, lived in a ſtate "of degradation; as the people of *Pundraca* "and *Odra*, thoſe of *Dravira* and *Cam-* "*bója*, the *Yavanas* and *Sacas*, the *Páradas* "and *Pahlavas*, the *Chínas* and ſome other "nations." A full comment on this text would here be ſuperfluous; but ſince the teſtimony of the *Indian* author, who, though certainly not a divine perſonage, was as certainly a very ancient lawyer, moraliſt, and hiſtorian, is direct and poſitive, diſintereſted and unſuſpected, it would, I think, decide the queſtion before us, if we could be ſure that the word *Chína* ſignified a *Chineſe*, as all the *Pandits*, whom I have ſeparately conſulted, aſſert with one voice: they aſſure me, that the *Chínas* of MENU ſettled in a fine country to the north-eaſt of *Gaur*, and to the eaſt of *Cámarúp* and *Népàl*; that they have long been, and ſtill are, famed as ingenious artificers; and that they had themſelves ſeen old *Chineſe* idols, which bore a manifeſt relation to the primitive religion of *India*, before BUDDHA's appearance in it. A well-informed *Pandit* ſhewed me a *Sanſcrit* book in *Caſhmirian* letters, which,

 he

he ſaid, was revealed by SIVA himſelf, and entitled *Sactiſangama*: he read to me a whole chapter of it on the heterodox opinions of the *Chínas*, who were divided, ſays the author, into near two hundred clans. I then laid before him a map of *Aſia*; and when I pointed to *Caſhmír*, his own country, he inſtantly placed his finger on the north-weſtern provinces of *China*, where the *Chínas*, he ſaid, firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves; but he added, that *Mahá-chína*, which was alſo mentioned in his book, extended to the eaſtern and ſouthern oceans. I believe, nevertheleſs, that the *Chineſe* Empire, as we now call it, was not formed when the laws of MENU were collected; and for this belief, ſo repugnant to the general opinion, I am bound to offer my beſt reaſons. If the outline of hiſtory and chronology for the laſt two thouſand years be correctly traced, (and we muſt be hardy ſcepticks to doubt it) the poems of CA'LI'DA's were compoſed before the beginning of our era: now it is clear from internal and external evidence, that the *Rámáyan* and *Mahábhárat* were conſiderably older than the productions of that poet; and it appears from the ſtyle and metre of the *Dherma Sáſtra*, revealed by MENU, that it was reduced to writing long before the age of VA'LMIC or VYA'SA, the ſecond of whom names it with applauſe:

applauſe: we ſhall not, therefore, be thought extravagant, if we place the compiler of thoſe laws between a thouſand and fifteen hundred years before CHRIST; eſpecially as BUDDHA, whoſe age is pretty well aſcertained, is not mentioned in them; but in the twelfth century before our era, the *Chineſe* Empire was at leaſt in its cradle. This fact it is neceſſary to prove; and my firſt witneſs is CONFUCIUS himſelf. I know to what keen ſatire I ſhall expoſe myſelf by citing that philoſopher, after the bitter ſarcaſms of M. PAUW againſt him and againſt the tranſlators of his mutilated, but valuable, works; yet I quote, without ſcruple, the book entitled LU'N YU', of which I poſſeſs the original with a verbal tranſlation, and which I know to be ſufficiently authentick for my preſent purpoſe: in the ſecond part of it CON-FU-TSU declares, that "although he, "like other men, could relate, as mere leſſons "of morality, the hiſtories of the firſt and "ſecond imperial houſes, yet, *for want of evi-"dence*, he could give no certain account of "them." Now, if the *Chineſe* themſelves do not even pretend, that any hiſtorical monument exiſted, in the age of CONFUCIUS, preceding the riſe of their third dynaſty about eleven hundred years before the *Chriſtian* epoch, we may juſtly conclude, that the reign of VU'VAM was in the infancy of their Empire, which

which hardly grew to maturity till ſome ages after that prince; and it has been aſſerted by very learned *Europeans*, that even of the third dynaſty, which he has the fame of having raiſed, no unſuſpected memorial can now be produced.

It was not till the eighth century before the birth of Our Saviour, that a ſmall kingdom was erected in the province of *Shen-sí*, the capital of which ſtood nearly in the *thirty-fifth* degree of northern latitude, and about *five* degrees to the weſt of *Si-gan*: both the country and its metropolis were called *Chín*, and the dominion of its princes was gradually extended to the eaſt and weſt. A king of *Chín*, who makes a figure in the *Sháhnáma* among the allies of AFRA'SIYA'B, was, I preſume, a ſovereign of the country juſt mentioned; and the river of *Chín*, which the poet frequently names as the limit of his eaſtern geography, ſeems to have been the *Yellow River*, which the *Chineſe* introduce at the beginning of their fabulous annals. I ſhould be tempted to expatiate on ſo curious a ſubject; but the preſent occaſion allows nothing ſuperfluous, and permits me only to add, that MANGUKHA'N died in the middle of the thirteenth century, before the city of *Chín*, which was afterwards taken by KUBLAI; and that the poets of *Irán* perpetually allude to the diſtricts around it which they celebrate, with *Chegil* and *Khoten*,

ten, for a number of muſk-animals roving on their hills. The territory of *Chín*, ſo called by the old *Hindus*, by the *Perſians*, and by the *Chineſe* (while the *Greeks* and *Arabs* were obliged, by their defective articulation, to miſcall it *Sín*), gave its name to a race of Emperors, whoſe tyranny made their memory ſo unpopular, that the modern inhabitants of *China* hold the word in abhorrence, and ſpeak of themſelves as the people of a milder and more virtuous dynaſty; but it is highly probable that the whole nation deſcended from the *Chínas* of MENU, and mixing with the *Tartars*, by whom the plains of *Honan* and the more ſouthern provinces were thinly inhabited, formed by degrees the race of men whom we now ſee in poſſeſſion of the nobleſt empire in *Aſia*.

IN ſupport of an opinion, which I offer as the reſult of long and anxious inquiries, I ſhould regularly proceed to examine the language and letters, religion and philoſophy, of the preſent *Chineſe*, and ſubjoin ſome remarks on their ancient monuments, on their ſcience, and on their arts, both liberal and mechanical: but their ſpoken *language*, not having been preſerved by the uſual ſymbols of articulate ſounds, muſt have been for many ages in a continual flux; their *letters*, if we may ſo call them, are merely the ſymbols of ideas; their popular

religion

religion was imported from *India* in an age comparatively modern; and their *philoſophy* ſeems yet in ſo rude a ſtate, as hardly to deſerve the appellation: they have no *ancient monuments*, from which their origin can be traced even by plauſible conjecture; their *ſciences* are wholly *exotick*, and their *mechanical arts* have nothing in them characteriſtic of a particular family; nothing which any ſet of men, in a country ſo highly favoured by nature, might not have diſcovered and improved. They have, indeed, both national muſic and national poetry, and both of them beautifully pathetick; but of painting, ſculpture, or architecture, as arts of imagination, they ſeem (like other *Aſiaticks*) to have no idea. Inſtead, therefore, of enlarging ſeparately on each of thoſe heads, I ſhall briefly enquire, how far the literature and religious practices of *China* confirm or oppoſe the propoſition which I have advanced.

The declared and fixed opinion of M. de Guignes, on the ſubject before us, is nearly connected with that of the *Bráhmans*: he maintains, that the *Chineſe* were emigrants from *Egypt*; and the *Egyptians*, or *Ethiopians* (for they were clearly the ſame people), had indubitably a common origin with the old natives of *India*, as the affinity of their languages, and of their inſtructions, both religious and political, fully evinces; but that *China* was peopled a few

centuries

centuries before our era by a colony from the banks of the *Nile*, though neither *Perſians* nor *Arabs*, *Tartars* nor *Hindus*, ever heard of ſuch an emigration, is a paradox, which the bare authority even of ſo learned a man cannot ſupport; and ſince reaſon grounded on facts can alone decide ſuch a queſtion, we have a right to demand clearer evidence and ſtronger arguments than any that he has adduced. The hieroglyphicks of *Egypt* bear, indeed, a ſtrong reſemblance to the mythological ſculptures and paintings of *India*, but ſeem wholly diſſimilar to the ſymbolical ſyſtem of the *Chineſe*, which might eaſily have been invented (as they aſſert) by an individual, and might very naturally have been contrived by the firſt *Chínas*, or out-caſt *Hindus*, who either never knew, or had forgotten, the alphabetical characters of their wiſer anceſtors. As to the table and buſt of Isis, they ſeem to be given up as modern forgeries; but, if they were indiſputably genuine, they would be nothing to the purpoſe; for the letters on the buſt appear to have been deſigned as alphabetical; and the fabricator of them (if they really were fabricated in *Europe*) was uncommonly happy, ſince two or three of them are exactly the ſame with thoſe on a metal pillar yet ſtanding in the north of *India*. In *Egypt*, if we can rely on the teſtimony of the *Greeks*, who ſtudied no language but their own,

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there were two ſets of alphabetical characters; the one *popular*, like the various letters uſed in our *Indian* provinces; and the other *ſacerdotal*, like the *Dêvanágarì*, eſpecially that form of it which we ſee in the *Véda*: beſides which, they had two ſorts of *ſacred ſculpture*; the one ſimple, like the figures of BUDDHA and the three RA'MAS; and the other allegorical, like the images of GANE'SA, or *Divine Wiſdom*, and ISA'NI', or *Nature*, with all their emblematical accompaniments: but the *real character* of the *Chineſe* appears wholly diſtinct from any *Egyptian* writing, either myſterious or popular; and as to the fancy of M. DE GUIGNES, that the complicated ſymbols of *China* were at firſt no more than *Phenician* monograms, let us hope, that he has abandoned ſo wild a conceit, which he ſtarted probably with no other view than to diſplay his ingenuity and learning.

WE have ocular proof, that the few radical characters of the *Chineſe* were originally (like our aſtronomical and chymical ſymbols) the pictures or out-lines of viſible objects, or figurative ſigns for ſimple ideas, which they have multiplied by the moſt ingenious combinations and the livelieſt metaphors; but as the ſyſtem is peculiar, I believe, to themſelves and the *Japaneſe*, it would be idle and oſtentatious to enlarge on it at preſent; and, for the reaſons already intimated, it neither corroborates nor weakens

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the opinion which I endeavour to ſupport. The ſame may as truly be ſaid of their *ſpoken* language; for, independently of its conſtant fluctuation during a ſeries of ages, it has the peculiarity of excluding four or five ſounds which other nations articulate, and is clipped into monoſyllables, even when the ideas expreſſed by them, and the written ſymbols for thoſe ideas, are very complex. This has ariſen, I ſuppoſe, from the ſingular habits of the people; for though their common tongue be ſo *muſically* accented as to form a kind of recitative, yet it wants thoſe *grammatical* accents, without which all human tongues would appear monoſyllabick: thus *Amita*, with an accent on the firſt ſyllable, means, in the *Sanſcrit* language, immeaſurable; and the natives of *Bengal* pronounce it *Omito*; but when the religion of BUDDHA, the ſon of *Máyá*, was carried hence into *China*, the people of that country, unable to pronounce the name of their new God, called him *Foe*, the ſon of *Moye*, and divided his epithet *Amita* into three ſyllables O-MI-TO, annexing to them certain ideas of their own, and expreſſing them in writing by three diſtinct ſymbols. We may judge from this inſtance, whether a compariſon of their ſpoken tongue with the dialects of other nations can lead to any certain concluſion as to their origin; yet the inſtance which I have given

given ſupplies me with an argument from analogy, which I produce as conjectural only, but which appears more plauſible the oftener I conſider it. The BUDDHA of the *Hindus* is unqueſtionably the FOE of *China*; but the great progenitor of the *Chineſe* is alſo named by them FO-HI, where the ſecond monoſyllable ſignifies, it ſeems, a *Victim*: now the anceſtor of that military tribe whom the *Hindus* call the *Chandravanſa*, or children of the MOON, was, according to their *Puránas* or legends, BUDDHA, or the genius of the planet *Mercury*, from whom, in the *fifth* degree, deſcended a prince named DRUHYA; whom his father YAYA'TI ſent in exile to the eaſt of *Hinduſtán*, with this imprecation, "May thy progeny be ignorant of "the *Veda*!" The name of the baniſhed prince could not be pronounced by the modern *Chineſe*; and though I dare not conjecture, that the laſt ſyllable of it has been changed into YAO, I may nevertheleſs obſerve, that YAO was the *fifth* in deſcent from FO-HI, or at leaſt the fifth mortal in the firſt imperial dynaſty; that all *Chineſe* hiſtory before him is conſidered, by the *Chineſe* themſelves, as poetical or fabulous; that his father TI-CO, like the *Indian* king YAYA'TI, was the firſt prince who married ſeveral women; and that FO-HI, the head of their race, appeared, ſay the *Chineſe*, in a province of the weſt, and held his court in the territory

ritory of *Chín*, where the rovers mentioned by the *India* legiſlator are ſuppoſed to have ſettled. Another circumſtance in the parallel is very remarkable: according to Father DE PREMARE, in his Tract on *Chineſe* Mythology, the mother of FO-HI was the *daughter of Heaven*, ſurnamed *Flower-loving*; and as the nymph was walking alone on the bank of a *river* with a ſimilar name, ſhe found herſelf on a ſudden encircled by a *rainbow*; ſoon after which ſhe became pregnant, and at the end of twelve years was delivered of a ſon radiant as herſelf, who, among other titles, had that of SU'I, or *Star of the Year*. Now, in the mythological ſyſtem of the *Hindus*, the nymph RO'HINI', who preſides over the fourth lunar manſion, was the favourite miſtreſs of SO'MA, or the *Moon*, among whoſe numerous epithets, we find *Cumudanáyaca*, or *delighting in a* ſpecies of *water-flower*, that bloſſoms at night; and their offspring was BUDHA', regent of a planet, and called alſo, from the names of his parents, RAUHINE'YA or SAUMYA. It is true, that the learned Miſſionary explains the word SU'I by JUPITER; but an exact reſemblance between two ſuch fables could not have been expected; and it is ſufficient for my purpoſe that they ſeem to have a family likeneſs. The God BUDHA, ſay the *Indians*, married ILA',

whoſe father was preſerved in a miraculous ark from an univerſal deluge: now, although I cannot inſiſt with confidence, that the *rain-bow* in the *Chineſe* fable alludes to the *Moſaick* narrative of the Flood, nor build any ſolid argument on the divine perſonage NIU-VA, of whoſe character, and even of whoſe ſex, the hiſtorians of *China* ſpeak very doubtfully; I may, nevertheleſs, aſſure you, after full enquiry and conſideration, that the *Chineſe*, like the *Hindus*, believe this earth to have been wholly covered with water, which, in works of undiſputed authenticity, they deſcribe as *flowing abundantly, then ſubſiding, and ſeparating the higher from the lower age of mankind*; that the *diviſion of time*, from which their poetical hiſtory begins, juſt preceded the appearance of FO-HI on the mountains of *Chin*, but that the great *inundation*, in the reign of YAO, was either confined to the low-lands of his kingdom, if the whole account of it be not a fable, or if it contain any alluſion to the Flood of NOAH, has been ignorantly miſplaced by the *Chineſe* Annaliſts.

THE importation of a new religion into *China*, in the firſt century of our Era, muſt lead us to ſuppoſe, that the former ſyſtem, whatever it was, had been found inadequate to the purpoſe of reſtraining the great body of the people from thoſe offences againſt conſcience

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and virtue which the civil power could not reach; and it is hardly poſſible that, without ſuch reſtrictions, any government could long have ſubſiſted with felicity; for no government can long ſubſiſt without equal juſtice, and juſtice cannot be adminiſtered without the ſanctions of religion. Of the religious opinions entertained by CONFUCIUS and his followers we may glean a general notion from the fragments of their works tranſlated by COUPLET: they profeſſed a firm belief in the Supreme GOD, and gave a demonſtration of his Being, and of his Providence, from the exquiſite beauty and perfection of the celeſtial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabrick of the viſible world. From this belief they deduced a ſyſtem of Ethicks, which the philoſopher ſums up in a few words at the cloſe of the *Lúnyù*: "He," ſays CONFÙCIUS, "who "ſhall be fully perſuaded, that the Lord of "Heaven governs the Univerſe, who ſhall in "all things chuſe moderation, who ſhall per"fectly know his own ſpecies, and ſo act "among them, that his life and manners may "conform to his knowledge of GOD and Man, "may be truly ſaid to diſcharge all the duties of "a ſage, and to be far exalted above the com"mon herd of the human race." But ſuch a religion and ſuch morality could never have

been general; and we find, that the people of *China* had an ancient ſyſtem of ceremonies and ſuperſtitions, which the government and the philoſophers appear to have encouraged, and which has an apparent affinity with ſome parts of the oldeſt *Indian* worſhip: they believe in the agency of genii, or tutelary ſpirits, preſiding over the ſtars and the clouds, over lakes and rivers, mountains, valleys, and woods, over certain regions and towns, over all the elements (of which, like the *Hindus*, they reckon *five*), and particularly over *fire*, the moſt brilliant of them: to thoſe deities they offered victims on high places; and the following paſſage from the *Shí-cin*, or *Book of Odes*, is very much in the ſtyle of the *Bráhmans*: "Even they who "perform a ſacrifice with due reverence can-"not perfectly aſſure themſelves, that the di-"vine ſpirits accept their oblations; and far "leſs can they who adore the Gods with lan-"guor and oſcitancy clearly perceive their "ſacred illapſes."

These are imperfect traces indeed, but they are traces of an affinity between the religion of Menu and that of the *Chinás*, whom he names among the apoſtates from it. M. Le Gentil, obſerved, he ſays, a ſtrong reſemblance between the funeral rites of the *Chineſe* and the *Sráddha* of the *Hindus*; and M. Bailly, after a learned inveſtigation, concludes

concludes, that "even the puerile and abſurd "ſtories of the *Chineſe* fabuliſts contain a remnant of ancient *Indian* hiſtory, with a faint "ſketch of the firſt *Hindu* ages."

As the *Bauddhas*, indeed, were *Hindus*, it may naturally be imagined, that they carried into *China* many ceremonies practiſed in their own country; but the *Bauddhas* poſitively forbad the immolation of cattle; yet we know, that various animals, even bulls and men, were anciently ſacrificed by the *Chineſe*; beſides which we diſcover many ſingular marks of relation between them and the old *Hindus*: as in the remarkable period of *four hundred and thirty-two thouſand*, and the cycle of *ſixty* years; in the predilection for the myſtical number *nine*; in many ſimilar faſts and great feſtivals, eſpecially at the ſolſtices and equinoxes; in the juſt mentioned obſequies, conſiſting of rice and fruits, offered to the manes of their anceſtors; in the dread of dying childleſs, leſt ſuch offering ſhould be intermitted; and, perhaps, in their common abhorrence of *red* objects, which the *Indians* carried ſo far, that Menu himſelf, where he allows a *Bráhman* to trade, if he cannot otherwiſe ſupport life, abſolutely forbids "his trafficking in any "ſort of *red* cloths, whether linen or woollen, "or made of woven bark."

All the circumſtances which have been mentioned under the two heads of *literature* and *religion* ſeem collectively to prove (as far as ſuch a queſtion admits proof) that the *Chineſe* and *Hindus* were originally the ſame people; but having been ſeparated near four thouſand years, have retained few ſtrong features of their ancient conſanguinity, eſpecially as the *Hindus* have preſerved their old language and ritual, while the *Chineſe* very ſoon loſt both; and the *Hindus* have conſtantly intermarried among themſelves, while the *Chineſe*, by a mixture of *Tartarian* blood from the time of their firſt eſtabliſhment, have at length formed a race diſtinct in appearance both from *Indians* and *Tartars*.

A similar diverſity has ariſen, I believe, from ſimilar cauſes, between the people of *China* and *Japan*; in the ſecond of which nations we have now, or ſoon ſhall have, as correct and as ample inſtruction as can poſſibly be obtained without a perfect acquaintance with the *Chineſe* characters.

Kempfer has taken from M. Titsingh the honour of being the firſt, and he from Kempfer that of being the only *European*, who, by a long reſidence in *Japan*, and a familiar intercourſe with the principal natives of it, has been able to collect authentic materials for the natural

natural and civil hiſtory of a country *ſecluded*, as the *Romans* uſed to ſay of our own Iſland, from *the reſt of the World.* The works of thoſe illuſtrious travellers will confirm and embelliſh each other; and when M. TITSINGH ſhall have acquired a knowledge of *Chineſe*, to which a part of his leiſure in *Java* will be devoted, his precious collection of books in that language, on the laws and revolutions, the natural productions, the arts, manufactures, and ſciences, of *Japan*, will be in his hands an inexhauſtible mine of new and important information. Both he and his predeceſſor aſſert with confidence, and I doubt not with truth, that the *Japaneſe* would reſent, as an inſult on their dignity, the bare ſuggeſtion of their deſcent from the *Chineſe*, whom they ſurpaſs in ſeveral of the mechanical arts, and, what is of greater conſequence, in military ſpirit; but they do not, I underſtand, mean to deny, that they are a branch of the ſame ancient ſtem with the people of *China*; and, were that fact ever ſo warmly conteſted by them, it might be proved by an invincible argument, if the preceding part of this Diſcourſe, on the origin of the *Chineſe*, be thought to contain juſt reaſoning.

IN the firſt place, it ſeems inconceivable, that the *Japaneſe*, who never appear to have been conquerors or conquered, ſhould have

adopted the whole ſyſtem of *Chineſe* literature with all its inconveniences and intricacies, if an immemorial connexion had not ſubſiſted between the two nations; or, in other words, if the bold and ingenious race who peopled *Japan* in the middle of the thirteenth century before CHRIST, and about ſix hundred years afterwards eſtabliſhed their monarchy, had not carried with them the letters and learning which they and the *Chineſe* had poſſeſſed in common; but my principal argument is, that the *Hindu* or *Egyptian* idolatry has prevailed in *Japan* from the earlieſt ages; and among the idols worſhipped, according to KEMPFER, in that country before the innovations of SA'CYA or BUDDHA, whom the *Japaneſe* alſo call AMIDA, we find many of thoſe which we ſee every day in the temples of *Bengal*; particularly *the Goddeſs with many arms*, repreſenting the powers of nature, in *Egypt* named ISIS, and here ISA'NI' or ISI', whoſe image, as it is exhibited by the *German* traveller, all the *Bráhmans* to whom I ſhewed it immediately recognized with a mixture of pleaſure and enthuſiaſm. It is very true, that the *Chineſe* differ widely from the natives of *Japan* in their vernacular dialects, in external manners, and perhaps in the ſtrength of their mental faculties; but as wide a difference is obſervable among all the nations

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of the *Gothic* family; and we might account even for a greater diſſimilarity, by conſidering the number of ages during which the ſeveral ſwarms have been ſeparated from the great *Indian* hive, to which they primarily belonged.

THE modern *Japaneſe* gave KEMPFER the idea of poliſhed *Tartars*; and it is reaſonable to believe, that the people of *Japan*, who were originally *Hindus* of the martial claſs, and advanced farther eaſtward than the *Chìnas*, have, like them, inſenſibly changed their features and characters by intermarriages with various *Tartarian* tribes, whom they found looſely ſcattered over their iſles, or who afterwards fixed their abode in them.

HAVING now ſhewn, in five Diſcourſes, that the *Arabs* and *Tartars* were originally diſtinct races, while the *Hindus*, *Chineſe*, and *Japaneſe*, proceeded from another ancient ſtem, and that all the three ſtems may be traced to *Iràn*, as to a common centre, from which it is highly probable, that they diverged in various directions about four thouſand years ago, I may ſeem to have accompliſhed my deſign of inveſtigating the origin of the *Aſiatick* nations; but the queſtions which I undertook to diſcuſs are not yet ripe for a ſtrict analytical argument; and it will firſt be neceſſary to examine with ſcrupulous attention all the detached or inſulated races

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of men, who either inhabit the borders of *India*, *Arabia*, *Tartary*, *Perſia*, and *China*, or are interſperſed in the mountainous and uncultivated parts of thoſe extenſive regions.

To this examination I ſhall, at our next Annual Meeting, allot an entire Diſcourſe; and if, after all our inquiries, no more than *three* primitive races can be found, it will be a ſubſequent conſideration, whether thoſe three ſtocks had one common root, and, if they had, by what means that root was preſerved amid the violent ſhocks which our whole globe appears evidently to have ſuſtained.

DISSERTATION VIII.

REMARKS

ON THE

ISLAND

OF

HINZUAN OR JOHANNA.

HINZU'AN (a name which has been gradually corrupted into *Anzuame*, *Anjuan*, *Juanny*, and *Johanna*) has been governed about two centuries by a colony of *Arabs*, and exhibits a curious instance of the slow approaches towards civilization which are made by a small community, with many natural advantages, but with few means of improving them. An account of this *African* island, in which we hear the language and see the manners of *Arabia*, may neither be uninteresting in itself, nor foreign to the objects of enquiry proposed at the institution of our Society.

On

On Monday the 28th of July 1783, after a voyage in the *Crocodile* of ten weeks and two days from the rugged iſlands of *Cape Verd*, our eyes were delighted with a proſpect ſo beautiful, that neither a painter nor a poet could perfectly repreſent it, and ſo cheering to us, that it can juſtly be conceived by ſuch only as have been in our preceding ſituation. It was the ſun riſing in full ſplendour on the iſle of *Mayata* (as the ſeamen called it), which we had joyfully diſtinguiſhed the preceding afternoon by the height of its peak, and which now appeared at no great diſtance from the windows of our cabin; while *Hinzúan*, for which we had ſo long panted, was plainly diſcernible a-head, where its high lands preſented themſelves with remarkable boldneſs. The weather was fair; the water ſmooth; and a gentle breeze drove us eaſily before dinner-time round a rock, on which the *Brilliant* ſtruck juſt a year before, into a commodious road *, where we dropped our anchor early in the evening: we had ſeen *Mobila*, another ſiſter iſland, in the courſe of the day.

The frigate was preſently ſurrounded with canoes, and the deck ſoon crowded with natives of all ranks, from the high-born chief, who waſhed linen, to the half-naked ſlave,

* Lat. 12°. 10′. 47″. S. Long. 44°. 25′ 5″. E. by the Maſter.

who

who only paddled. Moſt of them had letters of recommendation from *Engliſhmen*, which none of them were able to read, though they ſpoke *Engliſh* intelligibly; and ſome appeared vain of titles which our countrymen had given them in play, according to their ſuppoſed ſtations; we had lords, dukes, and princes on board, ſoliciting our cuſtom, and importuning us for preſents. In fact, they were too ſenſible to be proud of empty ſounds, but juſtly imagined, that thoſe ridiculous titles would ſerve as marks of diſtinction, and, by attracting notice, procure for them ſomething ſubſtantial. The only men of real conſequence in the iſland, whom we ſaw before we landed, were the Governor ABDULLAH, ſecond couſin to the King, and his brother ALWI', with their ſeveral ſons; all of whom will again be particularly mentioned: they underſtood *Arabick*, ſeemed zealots in the *Mohammedan* faith, and admired my copies of the *Alkoran*; ſome verſes of which they read, whilſt ALWI' peruſed the opening of another *Arabian* manuſcript, and explained it in *Engliſh* more accurately than could have been expected.

THE next morning ſhewed us the iſland in all its beauty; and the ſcene was ſo diverſified, that a diſtinct view of it could hardly have been exhibited by the beſt pencil: you muſt, therefore, be ſatisfied wtth a mere deſcription, writ-

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ten on the very ſpot, and compared attentively with the natural landſcape. We were at anchor in a fine bay, and before us was a vaſt amphitheatre, of which you may form a general notion by picturing in your minds a multitude of hills infinitely varied in ſize and figure, and then ſuppoſing them to be thrown together, with a kind of artleſs ſymmetry, in all imaginable poſitions. The back ground was a ſeries of mountains, one of which is pointed, near half a mile perpendicularly high from the level of the ſea, and little more than three miles from the ſhore: all of them were richly clothed with wood, chiefly fruit-trees, of an exquiſite verdure. I had ſeen many a mountain of a ſtupendous height in *Wales* and *Swiſſerland*, but never ſaw one before, round the boſom of which the clouds were almoſt continually rolling, while its green ſummit roſe flouriſhing above them, and received from them an additional brightneſs. Next to this diſtant range of hills was another tier, part of which appeared charmingly verdant, and part rather barren; but the contraſt of colours changed even this nakedneſs into a beauty: nearer ſtill were innumerable mountains, or rather cliffs, which brought down their verdure and fertility quite to the beach; ſo that every ſhade of green, the ſweeteſt of colours, was diſplayed at one view

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by land and by water. But nothing conduced more to the variety of this enchanting profpect than the many rows of palm-trees, efpecially the tall and graceful Areca's, on the fhores, in the valleys, and on the ridges of hills, where one might almoft fuppofe them to have been planted regularly by defign. A more beautiful appearance can fcarce be conceived, than fuch a number of elegant palms in fuch a fituation, with luxuriant tops, like verdant plumes, placed at juft intervals, and fhewing between them part of the remoter landfcape, while they left the reft to be fupplied by the beholder's imagination. The town of *Matfamúdò* lay on our left, remarkable at a diftance for the tower of the principal Mofque, which was built by HALI'MAH, a Queen of the ifland, from whom the prefent King is defcended : a little on our right was a fmall town, called *Bantáni.* Neither the territory of *Nice*, with its olives, date-trees, and cypreffes, nor the ifles of *Hières*, with their delightful orange-groves, appeared fo charming to me as the view from the road of *Hinzúan* ; which, neverthelefs, is far furpaffed, as the Captain of the *Crocodile* affured us, by many of the iflands in the fouthern ocean. If life were not too fhort for the complete difcharge of all our refpective duties, publick and private, and for the acquifition even of neceffary know-

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ledge in any degree of perfection, with how much pleasure and improvement might a great part of it be spent in admiring the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contemplating the nature of man in all its varieties!

We hastened to tread on firm land, to which we had been so long disused, and went on shore, after breakfast, to see the town, and return the Governor's visit. As we walked, attended by a crowd of natives, I surprized them by reading aloud an *Arabick* inscription over the gate of a *Mosque*, and still more, when I entered it, by explaining four sentences, which were written very distinctly on the wall, signifying, "that "the world was given us for our own edifica-"tion, not for the purpose of raising sump-"tuous buildings; life, for the discharge of "moral and religious duties, not for pleasurable "indulgences; wealth, to be liberally be-"stowed, not avariciously hoarded; and learn-"ing to produce good actions, not empty dis-"putes." We could not but respect the temple even of a false prophet, in which we found such excellent morality: we saw nothing better among the *Romish* trumpery in the church at *Madera*.

When we came to Abdullah's house, we were conducted through a small court-yard into an open room, on each side of which was a large

a large and convenient ſofa, and above it a high bed-place in a dark receſs, over which a chintz counterpane hung down from the ceiling: this is the general form of the beſt rooms in the iſland; and moſt of the tolerable houſes have a ſimilar apartment on the oppoſite ſide of the court, that there may be at all hours a place in the ſhade for dinner or for repoſe. We were entertained with ripe dates from *Yemen*, and the milk of cocoa-nuts; but the heat of the room, which ſeemed acceſſible to all who choſe to enter it, and the ſcent of muſk or civet, with which it was perfumed, ſoon made us deſirous of breathing a purer air; nor could I be detained long by the *Arabick* manuſcripts which the Governor produced, but which appeared of little uſe, and conſequently of no value, except to ſuch as love mere curioſities: one of them, indeed, relating to the penal law of the *Mohammedans*, I would gladly have purchaſed at a juſt price; but he knew not what to aſk, and I knew that better books on that ſubject might be procured in *Bengal*. He then offered me a black boy for one of my Alkorans, and preſſed me to barter an *Indian* dreſs, which he had ſeen on board the ſhip, for a cow and calf; the golden ſlippers attracted him moſt, ſince his wife, he ſaid, would like to wear them; and for that reaſon I made him a preſent of them;

but had deſtined the book and the robe for his ſuperior. No high opinion could be formed of SAYYAD ABDULLAH, who ſeemed very eager for gain, and very ſervile where he expected it.

OUR next viſit was to SHAIKH SA'LIM, the King's eldeſt ſon; and if we had ſeen him firſt, the ſtate of civilization in *Hinzúàn* would have appeared at its loweſt ebb; the worſt *Engliſh* hackney in the worſt ſtable is better lodged, and looks more princely than this heir apparent; but though his mien and apparel were extremely ſavage, yet allowance ſhould have been made for his illneſs, which, as we afterwards learned, was an abſceſs in the ſpleen, a diſorder not uncommon in that country, and frequently cured, agreeably to the *Arabian* practice, by the actual cautery. He was inceſſantly chewing pieces of the *Areca-nut* with ſhell-lime; a cuſtom borrowed, I ſuppoſe, from the *Indians*, who greatly improve the compoſition with ſpices and betel-leaves, to which they formerly added camphor: all the natives of rank chewed it, but not, I think, to ſo great an exceſs. Prince SA'LIM from time to time gazed at himſelf with complacency in a piece of broken looking-glaſs, which was glued on a ſmall board, a ſpecimen of wretchedneſs which we obſerved in no other houſe; but many circumſtances convinced us that the apparently

low

low condition of his Royal Highneſs, who was not on bad terms with his father, and ſeemed not to want authority, proceeded wholly from his avarice. His brother HAMDULLAH, who generally reſides in the town of *Domóni*, has a very different character, being eſteemed a man of worth, good ſenſe, and learning: he had come the day before to *Matſamúdo*, on hearing that an *Engliſh* frigate was in the road; and I having gone out for a few minutes to read an *Arabick* inſcription, found him on my return devouring a manuſcript, which I had left with ſome of the company. He is a *Kádì* or *Mohammedan* judge; and as he ſeemed to have more knowledge than his countrymen, I was extremely concerned that I had ſo little converſation with him. The King, SHAIKH AHMED, has a younger ſon, named ABDULLAH, whoſe uſual reſidence is in the town of *Wánì*, which he ſeldom leaves, as the ſtate of his health is very infirm. Since the ſucceſſion to the title and authority of Sultan is not unalterably fixed in one line, but requires confirmation by the Chiefs of the iſland, it is not improbable that they may hereafter be conferred on Prince HAMDULLAH.

A LITTLE beyond the hole in which SA'LIM received us, was his *Haram*, or the apartment of his women, which he permitted us all to ſee,

not through politeneſs to ſtrangers, as we believed at firſt, but, as I learned afterwards from his own lips, in expectation of a preſent: we ſaw only two or three miſerable creatures with their heads covered, while the favourite, as we ſuppoſed, ſtood behind a coarſe curtain, and ſhewed her ankles under it loaded with ſilver rings; which, if ſhe was capable of reflection, ſhe muſt have conſidered as glittering fetters rather than ornaments; but a rational being would have preferred the condition of a wild beaſt, expoſed to perils and hunger in a foreſt, to the ſplendid miſery of being wife or miſtreſs to SA'LIM.

BEFORE we returned, ALWI' was deſirous of ſhewing me his books; but the day was too far advanced, and I promiſed to viſit him ſome other morning. The Governor, however, prevailed on us to ſee his place in the country, where he invited us to dine the next day: the walk was extremely pleaſant from the town to the ſide of a rivulet, which formed in one part a ſmall pool very convenient for bathing, and thence, through groves and alleys, to the foot of a hill; but the dining-room was little better than an open barn, and was recommended only by the coolneſs of its ſhade. ABDULLAH would accompany us on our return to the ſhip, together with two *Mufti's*, who ſpoke *Arabick* indifferently,

differently, and ſeemed eager to ſee all my manuſcripts; but they were very moderately learned, and gazed with ſtupid wonder on a fine copy of the *Hamáſah* and on other collections of ancient poetry.

EARLY the next morning a black meſſenger, with a tawney lad as his interpreter, came from Prince SA'LIM; who, having broken his perſpective-glaſs, wiſhed to procure another by purchaſe or barter: a polite anſwer was returned, and ſteps taken to gratify his wiſhes. As we on our part expreſſed a deſire to viſit the King at *Domóni*, the Prince's meſſenger told us, that his maſter would, no doubt, lend us palanquins (for there was not an horſe in the iſland), and order a ſufficient number of his vaſſals to carry us, whom we might pay for their trouble, as we thought juſt: we commiſſioned him, therefore, to aſk that favour, and begged that all might be ready for our excurſion before ſun-riſe, that we might eſcape the heat of the noon, which, though it was the middle of winter, we had found exceſſive. The boy, whoſe name was COMBO MADI' ſtaid with us longer than his companion: there was ſomething in his look ſo ingenuous, and in his broken *Engliſh* ſo ſimple, that we encouraged him to continue his innocent prattle. He wrote and read *Arabick* tolerably well, and ſet

ſet down at my deſire the names of ſeveral towns in the iſland, which, He firſt told me, was properly called *Hinzúàn*. The fault of begging for whatever he liked, he had in common with the Governor and other nobles; but hardly in a greater degree: his firſt petition for ſome lavender-water was readily granted; and a ſmall bottle of it was ſo acceptable to him, that, if we had ſuffered him, he would have kiſſed our feet but it was not for himſelf that he rejoiced ſo extravagantly; he told us, with tears ſtarting from his eyes, that his mother would be pleaſed with it, and the idea of her pleaſure ſeemed to fill him with rapture: never did I ſee filial affection more warmly felt, or more tenderly and, in my opinion, unaffectedly expreſſed; yet this boy was not a favourite of the officers, who thought him artful. His mother's name, he ſaid, was FA'TIMA; and he importuned us to viſit her; conceiving, I ſuppoſe, that all mankind muſt love and admire her: we promiſed to gratify him; and, having made him ſeveral preſents, permitted him to return. As he reminded me of ALADDIN in the *Arabian* tale, I deſigned to give him that name in a recommendatory letter, which he preſſed me to write, inſtead of ST. DOMINGO, as ſome *European* viſitor had ridiculouſly called him; but, ſince the alluſion would not have been generally

nerally known, and ſince the title of *Aláu'ldìn*, or *Eminence in Faith*, might have offended his ſuperiors, I thought it adviſeable for him to keep his *African* name.

A VERY indifferent dinner was prepared for us at the houſe of the Governor, whom we did not ſee the whole day, as it was the beginning of *Ramadàn*, the *Mohammedan Lent*, and he was engaged in his devotions, or made them his excuſe; but his eldeſt ſon ſat by us, while we dined, together with MU'SA, who was employed, jointly with his brother HUSAIN, as purveyor to the Captain of the frigate.

HAVING obſerved a very elegant ſhrub, that grew about ſix feet high in the court-yard, but was not then in flower, I learned with pleaſure, that it was *hinnà*, of which I had read ſo much in *Arabian* poems, and which *European* botaniſts have ridiculouſly named *Lawſonia*. MU'SA bruiſed ſome of the leaves, and, having moiſtened them with water, applied them to our nails, and the tips of our fingers, which in a ſhort time became of a dark orange-ſcarlet. I had before conceived a different idea of this dye, and imagined, that it was uſed by the *Arabs* to imitate the natural redneſs of thoſe parts in young and healthy perſons, which in all countries muſt be conſidered as a beauty: perhaps a leſs quantity of *hinnà*, or the ſame

differently prepared, might have produced that effect. The old men in *Arabia* uſed the ſamed ye to conceal their gray hair, while their daughters were dyeing their lips and gums black, to ſet off the whiteneſs of their teeth ; ſo univerſal in all nations and ages are perſonal vanity, and a love of diſguiſing truth ; though in all caſes, the farther our ſpecies recede from nature, the farther they depart from true beauty ; and men at leaſt ſhould diſdain to uſe artifice or deceit for any purpoſe or on any occaſion : if the women of rank at *Paris*, or thoſe in *London* who wiſh to imitate them, be inclined to call the *Arabs* barbarians, let them view their own head-dreſſes and cheeks in a glaſs, and, if they have left no room for bluſhes, be inwardly at leaſt aſhamed of their cenſure.

In the afternoon I walked a long way up the mountains in a winding path amid plants and trees no leſs new than beautiful, and regretted exceedingly that very few of them were in bloſſom, as I ſhould then have had leiſure to examine them. Curioſity led me from hill to hill ; and I came at laſt to the ſources of a rivulet, which we had paſſed near the ſhore, and from which the ſhip was to be ſupplied with excellent water. I ſaw no birds on the mountains but Guinea-fowl, which might have been eaſily caught : no inſects were troubleſome to me but

moſquitos; and I had no fear of venomous reptiles, having been aſſured that the air was too pure for any to exiſt in it; but I was often unwillingly the cauſe of fear to the gentle and harmleſs lizard, who ran among the ſhrubs. On my return I miſſed the path by which I had aſcended; but having met ſome blacks laden with yams and plantains, I was by them directed to another, which led me round, through a charming grove of cocoa-trees, to the Governor's country-ſeat, where our entertainment was cloſed by a ſillabub, which the *Engliſh* had taught the *Muſelmans* to make for them.

WE received no anſwer from SA'LIM; nor, indeed, expected one, ſince we took for granted that he could not but approve our intention of viſiting his father; and we went on ſhore before ſun-riſe, in full expectation of a pleaſant excurſion to *Domóni*, but we were happily diſappointed. The ſervants at the Prince's door told us coolly, that their maſter was indiſpoſed, and, as they believed, aſleep; that he had given them no orders concerning his palanquins, and that they durſt not diſturb him. ALWI' ſoon came to pay us his compliments, and was followed by his eldeſt ſon AHMED, with whom we walked to the gardens of the two Princes SA'LIM and HAMDULLAH; the ſituation was naturally good but wild and deſolate; and in SA'LIM'S

garden,

garden, which we entered through a miſerable hovel, we ſaw a convenient bathing-place, well built with ſtone, but then in great diſorder; and a ſhed by way of ſummer-houſe, like that under which we dined at the Governor's, but ſmaller, and leſs neat. On the ground lay a kind of cradle, about ſix feet long, and little more than one foot in breadth, made of cords twiſted in a ſort of clumſy net-work, with a long thick bamboo fixed to each ſide of it: this we heard with ſurprize was a royal palanquin, and one of the vehicles in which we were to have been rocked on men's ſhoulders over the mountains. I had much converſation with AHMED, whom I found intelligent and communicative. He told me, that ſeveral of his countrymen compoſed ſongs and tunes; that he was himſelf a paſſionate lover of poetry and muſic, and that if we would dine at his houſe he would play and ſing to us. We declined his invitation to dinner, as we had made a conditional promiſe if ever we paſſed a day at *Matſamúdo* to at our curry with BA'NA' GIBU, an honeſt man, of whom we purchaſed eggs and vegetables, and to whom ſome *Engliſhmen* had given the title of Lord, which made him extremely vain; we could therefore make SAYYAD AHMED only a morning viſit. He ſung a hymn or two in *Arabick*, and accompanied his drawling though pathetic pſalmody with a kind

of

of mandoline, which he touched with an awkward quill : the inſtrument was very imperfect, but ſeemed to give him delight. The names of the ſtrings were written on it in *Arabian* or *Indian* figures, ſimple and compounded ; but I could not think them worth copying. He gave Captain WILLIAMSON, who wiſhed to preſent ſome literary curioſities to the library at *Dublin*, a ſmall roll, containing a hymn in *Arabick* letters, but in the language of *Mombaza*, which was mixed with *Arabick* ; but it hardly deſerved examination, ſince the ſtudy of languages has little intrinſic value, and is only uſeful as the inſtrument of real knowledge, which we can ſcarce expect from the poets of *Mozambique*. AHMED would, I believe, have heard our *European* airs (I always except French melody) with rapture ; for his favourite tune was a common *Iriſh* jig, with which he ſeemed wonderfully affected.

ON our return to the beach I thought of viſiting old ALWI', according to my promiſe, and Prince SA'LIM, whoſe character I had not then diſcovered. I reſolved for that purpoſe to ſtay on ſhore alone, our dinner with GIBU having been fixed at an early hour. ALWI' ſhewed me his manuſcripts, which chiefly related to the ceremonies and ordinances of his own religion ; and one of them, which I had formerly ſeen in *Europe*,

Europe, was a collection of ſublime and elegant hymns in praiſe of MOHAMMED, with explanatory notes in the margin. I requeſted him to read one of them after the manner of the *Arabs*, and he chaunted it in a ſtrain by no means unpleaſing; but I am perſuaded that he underſtood it very imperfectly. The room, which was open to the ſtreet, was preſently crowded with viſitors, moſt of whom were *Mufti's*, or *expounders of the law*; and ALWI', deſirous, perhaps, to diſplay his zeal before them at the expence of good-breeding, directed my attention to a paſſage in a Commentary on the KORA'N, which I found levelled at the *Chriſtians*. The commentator, having related with ſome additions (but, on the whole, not inaccurately) the circumſtances of the temptation, puts this ſpeech into the mouth of the tempter: "Though I am "unable to delude thee, yet I will miſlead by thy "means more human creatures than thou wilt "ſet right." "Nor was this menace vain," ſays the MOHAMMEDAN writer, "for the inhabitants "of a region many thouſand leagues in extent, "are ſtill ſo deluded by the devil, that they impiouſly call I'SA the ſon of God. Heaven pre"ſerve us," he adds, "from blaſpheming Chri"ſtians, as well as blaſpheming Jews!" Altho' a religious diſpute with thoſe obſtinate zealots would have been unſeaſonable and fruitleſs, yet they deſerved, I thought, a ſlight reprehenſion, as the attack ſeemed to be concerted among them.

them. "The commentator," ſaid I, "was "much to blame for paſſing ſo indiſcriminate "and haſty a cenſure: the title which gave your "legiſlator, and gives you ſuch offence, was of- "ten applied in *Judea*, by a bold figure, agree- "able to the *Hebrew idiom*, though unuſual in "*Arabick*, to *angels*, to *holy men*, and even to *all* "*mankind*, who are commanded to call God "*their father*; and in this large ſenſe the *Apoſtle* "to the *Romans* calls the elect the *children* of "God, and the MESSIAH the *firſt-born among* "*many brethren*; but the words *only-begotten* "are applied tranſcendently and incomparably "to him alone *; and as for me, who believe "the ſcriptures, which you alſo profeſs to be- "lieve, though you aſſert without proof that "we have altered them, I cannot refuſe him an "appellation, though far ſurpaſſing our reaſon, "by which he is diſtinguiſhed in the Goſpel; "and the believers in MUHAMMED, who ex- "preſsly names him the MESSIAH, and pro- "nounces him to have been born of a virgin, "which alone might fully juſtify the phraſe "condemned by this author, are themſelves "condemnable for cavilling at words, when "they cannot object to the ſubſtance of our faith "conſiſtently with their own." The *Muſel-mans* had nothing to ſay in reply; and the converſation was changed.

* Rom. viii. 29. See 1. John, iii. 1. 2. Barrow, 231, 232, 251.

I WAS

I WAS aſtoniſhed at the queſtions which AL-WI' put to me concerning the late peace and the independence of *America*; the ſeveral powers and reſources of *Britain* and *France*, *Spain* and *Holland*; the character and ſuppoſed views of the EMPEROR; the comparative ſtrength of the *Ruſſian*, *Imperial*, and *Othman* armies, and their reſpective modes of bringing their forces to action. I anſwered him without reſerve, except on the ſtate of our poſſeſſions in *India*; nor were my anſwers loſt; for I obſerved that all the company were variouſly affected by them, generally with amazement, often with concern; eſpecially when I deſcribed to them the great force and admirable diſcipline of the *Auſtrian* army, and the ſtupid prejudices of the *Turks*, whom nothing can induce to abandon their old *Tartarian* habits, and expoſed the weakneſs of their empire in *Africa*, and even in the more diſtant provinces of *Aſia*. In return he gave me clear but general information concerning the government and commerce of his iſland: "his coun-"try," he ſaid, "was poor, and produced few ar-"ticles of trade; but if they could get money, "*which they now preferred to play-things*," theſe were his words, "they might eaſily," he added, "procure foreign commodities, and "exchange them advantageouſly with their "neighbours in the iſlands and on the continent: "thus with a little money," ſaid he, "we "purchaſe muſkets, powder, balls, cutlaſſes,

"knives,

"knives, cloths, raw cotton, and other articles "brought from *Bombay*, and with thoſe we "trade to *Madagaſcar* for the natural produce "of the country or for dollars, with which the "*French* buy cattle, honey, butter, and ſo forth, "in that iſland. With gold, which we receive "from your ſhips, we can procure elephants "teeth from the natives of *Mozambique*, who "barter them alſo for ammunition and bars of "iron; and the *Portugueſe* in that country give "us cloths of various kinds in exchange for our "commodities: thoſe cloths we diſpoſe of lucratively in the three neighbouring iſlands; "whence we bring rice, cattle, a kind of bread-fruit which grows in *Comara*, and ſlaves, "which we buy alſo at other places to which "we trade; and we carry on this traffic in our "own veſſels."

HERE I could not help expreſſing my abhorrence of their *Slave Trade*, and aſked him by what law they claimed a property in rational beings, ſince our CREATOR had given our ſpecies a dominion, to be moderately exerciſed, over the beaſts of the field and the fowls of the air, but none *to man over man*. "By no law, anſwered he, "unleſs neceſſity be a law." There "are nations in *Madagaſcar* and in *Africa* who "know neither GOD nor his PROPHET, nor "MOSES, nor DAVID, nor the MESSIAH: "thoſe nations are in perpetual war, and take

"many

" many captives, whom, if they could not sell, " they would certainly kill. Individuals among " them are in extreme poverty, and have num- " bers of children, who, if they cannot be dis- " posed of, must perish through hunger, toge- " ther with their miserable parents. By purchas- " ing these wretches we preserve their lives, " and, perhaps, those of many others, whom " our money relieves. The sum of the argu- " ment is this : If we buy them, they will live " —if they become valuable servants, they will " live comfortably ; but if they are not sold, they " must die miserably." " There may be," said I, " such cases, but you fallaciously draw a ge- " neral conclusion from a few particular in- " stances ; and this is the very fallacy which, " on a thousand other occasions, deludes man- " kind. It is not to be doubted that a constant " and gainful traffic in human creatures foments " war, in which captives are always made, and " keeps up that perpetual enmity which you " pretend to be the *cause* of a practice in itself " reprehensible, while in truth it is its *effect*. " The same traffic encourages laziness in some " parents, who might in general support their " families by proper industry, and seduces " others to stifle their natural feelings. At most, " your redemption of those unhappy children " can amount only to a personal contract, im- " plied between you, for gratitude and reason-

" able

" able service on their part---for kindness and " humanity on your's ; but can you think your " part performed by disposing of them against " their wills, with as much indifference as if " you were selling cattle ; especially as they " might become readers of the KORA'N, and " pillars of your Faith ?" "The law," said he, " forbids our selling them, when they are be- " lievers in the PROPHET ; and little children " only are sold, nor they often, or by all mas- " ters." " You who believe in MUHAMMED," said I, " are bound by the spirit and letter of his " laws to take pains that they also may believe " in him ; and if you neglect so important a " duty for sordid gain, I do not see how you " can hope for prosperity in this world, or for " happiness in the next." My old friend and the MUFTIS assented, and muttered a few prayers, but probably forgot my preaching before many minutes had passed.

So much time had slipped away in this conversation, that I could make but a short visit to Prince SA'LIM : my view in visiting him was to fix the time of our journey to *Domóni* as early as possible on the next morning. His appearance was more savage than ever, and I found him in a disposition to complain bitterly of the English. " No acknowledgement," he said, " had been " made for the kind attentions of himself and " the chief men in his country to the officers " and people of the *Brilliant*, though a whole

"year had elapſed ſince the wreck." I really wondered at the forgetfulneſs to which alone ſuch a neglect could be imputed; and aſſured him, that I would expreſs my opinion both in *Bengal* and in letters to *England*. "We have "little," ſaid he, "to hope from letters, for "when we have been paid with them inſtead "of money, and have ſhewn them on board "your ſhips, we have commonly been treated "with diſdain, and often with imprecations." I aſſured him, that either thoſe letters muſt have been written coldly and by very obſcure perſons, or ſhewn to very ill bred men, of whom there were too many in all nations, but that a few inſtances of rudeneſs ought not to give him a general prejudice againſt our national character. "But you," ſaid he, "are a wealthy "nation, and we are indigent; yet though all "our groves of cocoa-trees, our fruits, and "our cattle are ever at your ſervice, you al-"ways try to make hard bargains with us for "what you chuſe to diſpoſe of, and frequently "will neither ſell nor give thoſe things which "we principally want." "To form," ſaid I, "a juſt opinion of *Engliſhmen*, you muſt "viſit us in our own iſland, or at leaſt in *India*; "here we are ſtrangers and travellers: many "of us have no deſign to trade in any coun-"try, and none of us think of trading in "*Hinzuàn*, where we ſtop only for refreſh-"ment. The clothes, arms, or inſtruments

"which

"which you may want are commonly
"neceſſary or convenient to us; but if SAY-
"YAD ALWI' or his ſons were to be ſtrangers
"in our country, you ſhould have no reaſon to
"boaſt of ſuperior hoſpitality." He then ſhewed me a ſecond time a part of an old ſilk veſt, with the ſtar of the Order of the Thiſtle, and begged me to explain the motto; expreſſing a wiſh that the Order might be conferred on him by the KING of ENGLAND in return for his good offices to the *Engliſh*. I repreſented to him the impoſſibility of his being gratified, and took occaſion to ſay, that there was more true dignity in their own native titles than in thoſe of Prince, Duke and Lord, which had been idly given them, but had no conformity to their manners or the conſtitution of their Government.

THIS converſation being agreeable to neither of us, I changed it by deſiring that the palanquins and bearers might be ready next morning as early as poſſible: he anſwered, that his palanquins were at our ſervice for nothing, but that we muſt pay him ten dollars for each ſet of bearers; that it was the ſtated price, and that Mr. HASTINGS had paid it when he went to viſit the King. This, as I learned afterwards, was falſe; but in all events I knew that he would keep the dollars himſelf, and give nothing to the bearers, who deſerved them better, and whom

he would compel to leave their cottages and toil for his profit. "Can you imagine, I replied, "that we would employ four and twenty men "to bear us ſo far on their ſhoulders without "rewarding them amply? But ſince they are "free men (ſo he had aſſured me), and not "your ſlaves, we will pay them in proportion "to their diligence and good behaviour; and "it becomes neither your dignity nor ours to "make a previous bargain." I ſhewed him an elegant copy of the *Korán*, which I deſtined for his father, and deſcribed the reſt of my preſent; but he coldly aſked, if that was all. Had he been King, a purſe of dry dollars would have given him more pleaſure than the fineſt or holieſt manuſcript. Finding him, in converſing on a variety of ſubjects, utterly void of intelligence or principle, I took my leave, and ſaw him no more, but promiſed to let him know for certain whether we ſhould make our intended excurſion.

We dined in tolerable comfort, and had occaſion, in the courſe of the day, to obſerve the manners of the natives in the middle rank, who are called BA'NAS, and all of whom have ſlaves conſtantly at work for them. We viſited the mother of COMBOMA'DE, who ſeemed in a ſtation but little raiſed above indigence; and her huſband, who was a mariner, bartered an *Arabick* Treatiſe on Aſtronomy and Navigation, which he had read, for a ſea-compaſs, of which he well knew the uſe.

In the morning I had converſed with two very old *Arabs* of *Yemen*, who had brought ſome articles of trade to *Hinzuàn*; and in the afternoon I met another who had come from *Maſkat* (where at that time there was a civil war) to purchaſe, if he could, an hundred ſtand of arms. I told them all, that I loved their nation, and they returned my compliments with great warmth, eſpecially the two old men, who were near fourſcore, and reminded me of ZOHAIR and HA'RETH.

So bad an account had been given me of the road over the mountains, that I diſſuaded my companions from thinking of the journey, to which the Captain became rather diſinclined; but as I wiſhed to be fully acquainted with a country which I might never ſee again, I wrote the next day to SA'LIM, requeſting him to lend me one palanquin, and to order a ſufficient number of men; he ſent me no written anſwer, which I aſcribed rather to his incapacity than to rudeneſs: but the Governor, with ALWI' and two of his ſons, came on board in the evening, and ſaid, that they had ſeen my letters; that all ſhould be ready; but that I could not pay leſs for the men than ten dollars. I ſaid, I would pay more, but it ſhould be to the men themſelves, according to their behaviour. They returned ſomewhat diſſatisfied, after I had played at cheſs with ALWI's younger

ſon, in whoſe manner and addreſs there was ſomething remarkably pleaſing.

BEFORE ſun-riſe, on the 2d of *Auguſt*, I went alone on ſhore, with a ſmall baſket of ſuch proviſions as I might want in the courſe of the day, and with ſome cuſhions to make the Prince's palanquin at leaſt a tolerable vehicle; but the Prince was reſolved to receive the dollars to which his men were entitled; and he knew that, as I was eager for the journey, he could preſcribe his own terms. Old ALWI′ met me on the beach, and brought excuſes from SA′LIM, who, he ſaid, was indiſpoſed. He conducted me to his houſe; and ſeemed rather deſirous of perſuading me to abandon my deſign of viſiting the King; but I aſſured him, that if the Prince would not ſupply me with proper attendants, I would walk to *Dom′oni* with my own ſervants and a guide.

"SHAIKH SA′LIM," he ſaid, "was miſerably avaritious; that he was aſhamed of a "kinſman with ſuch a diſpoſition; but that "he was no leſs obſtinate than covetous, and "that without ten dollars paid in hand it would "be impoſſible to procure bearers." I then gave him three guineas, which he carried or pretended to carry to SA′LIM, but returned without the change, alledging that he had no ſilver, and promiſing to give me on my return the few dollars that remained. In about an hour the ridiculous vehicle was brought by

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nine ſturdy blacks, who could not ſpeak a word of *Arabick*; ſo that I expected no information concerning the country through which I was to travel; but ALWI' aſſiſted me in a point of the utmoſt conſequence. "You cannot go," ſaid he, "without an interpreter; for the King "ſpeaks only the language of this iſland; but "I have a ſervant whoſe name is TUMU'NI, a "ſenſible and worthy man, who underſtands "*Engliſh*, and is much eſteemed by the King: "he is known and valued all over *Hinzuàn*. "This man ſhall attend you; and you will "ſoon be ſenſible of his worth."

TUMU'NI deſired to carry my baſket, and we ſet out with a proſpect of fine weather, but ſome hours later than I had intended. I walked by the gardens of the two Princes to the ſkirts of the town, and came to a little village conſiſting of ſeveral very neat nuts made chiefly with the leaves of the cocoa-tree; but the road a little farther was ſo ſtony, that I ſat in the palanquin, and was borne with perfect ſafety over ſome rocks. I then deſired my guide to aſſure the men, that I would pay them liberally; but the poor peaſants, who had been brought from their farms on the hills, were not perfectly acquainted with the uſe of money, and treated my promiſe with indifference.

ABOUT five miles from *Matſamûdo* lies the town of *Wánì*, where SHAIKH ABDULLAH, who has already been mentioned, uſually reſides. I

ſaw it at a diſtance, and it ſeemed to be agreeably ſituated. When I had paſſed the rocky part of the road I came to a ſtony beach, where the ſea appeared to have loſt ſome ground, ſince there was a fine ſand to the left, and beyond it a beautiful bay, which reſembled that of *Weymouth*, and ſeemed equally convenient for bathing; but it did not appear to me, that the ſtones over which I was carried had been recently covered with water. Here I ſaw the frigate, and taking leave of it for two days, turned from the coaſt into a fine country very neatly cultivated, and conſiſting partly of hillocks exquiſitely green, partly of plains which were then in a gaudy dreſs of rich yellow bloſſoms: my guide informed me that they were plantations of a kind of vetch which was eaten by the natives. Cottages and farms were interſperſed all over this gay champaign, and the whole ſcene was delightful; but it was ſoon changed for beauties of a different ſort. We deſcended into a cool valley, through which ran a rivulet of perfectly clear water; and there finding my vehicle uneaſy, though from the laughter and merriment of my bearers I concluded them to be quite at their eaſe, I bade them ſet me down, and walked before them all the reſt of the way. Mountains clothed with fine trees and flowering ſhrubs preſented themſelves on our aſcent from the vale, and we proceeded for half an hour through pleaſant wood-walks, where I regretted

ted the impoſſibility of loitering a while to examine the variety of new bloſſoms, which ſucceeded one another at every ſtep, and the virtues as well as names of which ſeemed familiar to TUMU'NI. At length we deſcended into a valley of greater extent than the former; a river or large wintry torrent ran through it, and fell down a ſteep declivity at the end of it, where it ſeemed to be loſt among rocks. Cattle were grazing on the banks of the river, and the huts of the owners appeared on the hills: a more agreeable ſpot I had not before ſeen even in *Swiſſerland* or *Merionethſhire*; but it was followed by an aſſemblage of natural beauties, which I hardly expected to find in a little iſland twelve degrees to the ſouth of the Line. I was not ſufficiently pleaſed with my ſolitary journey to diſcover charms which had not actual exiſtence, and the firſt effect of the contraſt between *St. Jago* and *Hinzuàn* had ceaſed. But, without any diſpoſition to give the landſcape a high colouring, I may truly ſay what I thought at the time, that the whole country which next preſented itſelf as far ſurpaſſed *Ermenonville* or *Blenheim*, or any other imitations of nature which I had ſeen in *France* or *England*, as the fineſt bay ſurpaſſes an artificial piece of water.

Two very high mountains covered to the ſummit with the richeſt verdure, were at ſome diſtance on my right hand, and ſeparated from me by meadows diverſified with cottages and herds,

herds, or by vallies reſounding with torrents and water-falls: on my left was the ſea, to which there were beautiful openings from the hills and woods; and the road was a ſmooth path, naturally winding through a foreſt of ſpicy ſhrubs, fruit-trees, and palms. Some high trees were ſpangled with white bloſſoms equal in fragrance to orange flowers: my guide called them *Monongo*'s, but the day was declining ſo faſt that it was impoſſible to examine them. The variety of fruits, flowers, and birds, of which I had a tranſient view in this magnificent garden, would have ſupplied a naturaliſt with amuſement for a month; but I ſaw no remarkable inſect, and no reptile of any kind. The woodland was diverſified by a few pleaſant glades, and new proſpects were continually opened; at length a noble view of the ſea burſt upon me unexpectedly, and having paſſed a hill or two we came to the beach, beyond which were ſeveral hills and cottages. We turned from the ſhore, and on the next eminence I ſaw the town of *Domoni* at a little diſtance below us: I was met by a number of natives, a few of whom ſpoke *Arabick*, and thinking it a convenient place for repoſe, I ſent my guide to apprize the King of my intended viſit. He returned in half an hour with a polite meſſage; and I walked into the town, which ſeemed large and populous. A great crowd accompanied me, and I was conducted to a houſe built

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on the ſame plan with the beſt houſes at *Matſamúdo* In the middle of the court yard ſtood a large *Monongo* tree, which perfumed the air: the apartment on the left was empty; and in that on the right ſat the King on a ſofa or bench covered with an ordinary carpet. He roſe when I entered, and, graſping my hands, placed me near him on the right; but as he could ſpeak only the language of *Hinzuán*, I had recourſe to my friend TUMU'NI, than whom a readier or more accurate interpreter could not have been found. I preſented the King with a very handſome *Indián* dreſs of blue ſilk with golden flowers, which had been worn only at one maſquerade, and with a beautiful copy of the KORA'N, from which I read a few verſes to him: he took them with great complacency, and ſaid, "he wiſhed I had come by ſea, that he might "have loaded one of my boats with fruit and "ſome of his fineſt cattle. He had ſeen "me," he ſaid, "on board the frigate, where "he had been according to his cuſtom in diſ- "guiſe, and had heard of me from his ſon "SHAIK HAMDULLAH." I gave him an account of my journey, and extolled the beauties of his country: he put many queſtions concerning mine and profeſſed great regard for my nation. "But I hear," ſaid he, "that you are "a magiſtrate, and conſequently profeſs peace; "why are you armed with a broad-ſword?" "I was a man," I ſaid, "before I was a ma- "giſtrate;

"gistrate; and if it should ever happen that law "could not protect me, I must protect my-"self." He seemed about sixty years old, had a very cheerful countenance, and a great appearance of goodnature mixed with a certain dignity which distinguished him from the croud of ministers and officers who attended him. Our conversation was interrupted by notice, that it was the time for evening prayer; and when he arose he said, "This house is yours, and I will "visit you in it after you have taken some re-"freshment." Soon after his servants brought a roast fowl, a rice pudding, and some other dishes, with papayas and very good pomegranates: my own basket supplied the rest of the supper. The room was hung with old red cloth, and decorated with pieces of porcelain and festoons of English bottles: the lamps were placed on the ground in large sea shells; and the bed-place was a recess, concealed by a chintz hanging, opposite to the sofa on which he had been sitting. Though it was not a place that invited repose, and the gnats were inexpressibly troublesome, yet the fatigues of the day procured me a comfortable slumber. I was waked by the return of the King and his train; some of whom were *Arabs*, for I heard one say, "*Huwa rákid*," or, "he is sleeping:" there was an immediate silence, and I passed the night with little disturbance except from the unwel-

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come ſongs of the muſquitos. In the morning I was equally ſilent and ſolitary ; the houſe appeared to be deſerted, and I began to wonder what was become of TUMU'NI : he came at length, with a concern on his countenance, and told me, that the bearers had run away in the night ; but that the King, who wiſhed to ſee me in another of his houſes, would ſupply me with bearers, if he could not prevail on me to ſtay till a boat could be ſent for. I went immediately to the King, who I found ſitting on a raiſed ſofa in a large room, the walls of which were adorned with ſentences from the KORA'N in very legible characters : about fifty of his ſubjects were ſeated on the ground in a ſemicircle before him, and my interpreter took his place in the midſt of them. The good old King laughed heartily when he heard the adventure of the night, and ſaid, "You "will now be my gueſt for a week, I hope ; "but ſeriouſly, if you muſt return ſoon, I will "ſend into the country for ſome peaſants to "carry you." He then apologiſed for the behaviour of SHAIK SA'LIM, which he had heard from TUMU'NI, who told me afterwards he was much diſpleaſed with it, and would not fail to expreſs his diſpleaſure : he concluded with a long harangue on the advantages which the *Engliſh* might derive from ſending a

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ſhip every year from *Bombay* to trade with his ſubjects, and on the wonderful cheapneſs of their commodities, eſpecially of their cowries. Ridiculous as the idea may ſeem, it ſhowed an enlargement of the mind, a deſire to promote the intereſt of his people, and a ſenſe of the benefits ariſing from trade, which could only have been expected from a petty *African* chief, and which if he had been ſovereign of *Yemen* might have been expanded into rational projects, proportioned to the extent of his dominions. I anſwered, that I was imperfectly acquainted with the commerce of *India*; but that I would report the ſubſtance of his converſation, and would ever bear teſtimony of his noble zeal for the good of his country, and to the mildneſs with which he governed it. As I had no inclination to paſs a ſecond night in the iſland, I requeſted leave to return without waiting for bearers: he ſeemed very ſincere in preſſing me to lengthen my viſit, but had too much *Arabian* politeneſs to be importunate. We therefore parted; and at the requeſt of TUMU'NI, who aſſured me that little time would be loſt in ſhewing attention to one of the worthieſt men in *Hinzuàn*, I made a viſit to the Governor of the town, whoſe name was MUTCKKA: his manners were very pleaſing, and he ſhewed me ſome letters from the officers of the *Brilliant*,

Brilliant, which appeared to flow warm from the heart, and contained the ſtrongeſt eloge of his courteſy and liberality. He inſiſted on filling my baſkets with ſome of the fineſt pomegranates I had ever ſeen ; and I left the town impreſſed with a very favourable opinion of the King and his Governor. When I reaſcended the hill attended by many of the natives, one of them told me in *Arabick*, that I was going to receive the higheſt mark of diſtinction that it was in the King's power to ſhew me ; and he had ſcarce ended, when I heard the report of a ſingle gun : SHAIKH AHMED had ſaluted me with the whole of his ordnance. I waved my hat, and ſaid, "*Allah Acbar.*" The people ſhouted, and I continued my journey, not without fear of inconvenience from exceſſive heat and the fatigue of climbing the rocks. The walk, however, was not on the whole unpleaſant. I ſometimes reſted in the valleys, and forded all the rivulets, which refreſhed me with their coolneſs, and ſupplied me with exquiſite water to mix with the juice of my pomegranates, and occaſionally with brandy. We were overtaken by ſome peaſants, who came from the hills by a nearer way, and brought the King's preſent of a cow with her calf, and a ſhe-goat with two kids : they had apparently been ſelected for their beauty, and were brought ſafe to *Bengal*. The proſpects which had ſo greatly delighted

lighted me the preceding day had not yet loſt their charms, though they wanted the recommendation of novelty; but I muſt confeſs, that the moſt delightful object in that day's walk of near ten miles was the black frigate, which I diſcerned at ſun ſet from a rock near the Prince's gardens. Cloſe to the town I was met by a native, who, perceiving me to be weary, opened a fine cocoa-nut, which afforded me a delicious draught: he informed me, that one of his countrymen had been puniſhed that afternoon for a theft on board the *Crocodile*; and added, that in his opinion the puniſhment was no leſs juſt, than the offence was diſgraceful to his country. The offender, as I afterwards learned, was a youth of a good family who had married a daughter of old ALWI'; but being left alone for a moment in the cabin, and ſeeing a pair of blue morocco ſlippers, could not reſiſt the temptation, and concealed them ſo ill under his gown that he was detected with the mainer. This proves that no principle of honour is inſtilled by education into the gentry of this iſland: even ALWI', when he had obſerved, that "in the month of *Ramadán* it was not lawful to "paint with *hinna* or to *tell lies*," and when I aſked, whether both were lawful all the reſt of the year, anſwered, that "lies were innocent, "if no man was injured by them." TUMU'NI took his leave, as well ſatisfied as myſelf with our

excurſion:

excursion : I told him before his master, that I transferred also to him the dollars which were due to me out of the three guineas ; and that if ever they should part, I should be very glad to receive him into my service in *India*.

MR. ROBERTS, the master of the ship, had passed the day with SAYYAD AHMED ; and had learned from him a few curious circumstances concerning the government of *Hinzuàn*, which he found to be a monarchy limited by an aristocracy. The King, he was told, had no power of making war by his own authority; but if the assembly of nobles, who were from time to time convened by him, resolved on a war with any of the neighbouring islands, they defrayed the charges of it by voluntary contributions, in return for which they claimed as their own, all the booty and captives that might be taken. The hope of gain or the want of slaves is usually the real motive for such enterprizes, and ostensible pretexts are easily found : at that very time, he understood, they meditated a war, because they wanted hands for the following harvest. Their fleet consisted of sixteen or seventeen small vessels, which they manned with about two thousand five hundred islanders, armed with muskets and cutlasses, or with bows and arrows. Near two years before they had possessed themselves of two towns in *Mayáta*, which they still kept and garrisoned. The or-

dinary expences of the government were defrayed by a tax from two hundred villages; but the three principal towns were exempt from all taxes, except that they paid annually to the chief MUFTI, a fortieth part of the value of all their moveable property, and from that payment neither the king nor the nobles claimed an exemption. The kingly authority, by the principles of their conſtitution, was conſidered as elective, though the line of ſucceſſion had not in fact been altered ſince the firſt election of a SULTAN. He was informed, that a wandering *Arab*, who had ſettled in the iſland, had, by his intrepidity in ſeveral wars, acquired the rank of a chieftain, and afterwards of a king, with limited powers; and that he was the *grandfather* of SHAIKH AHMED: I had been aſſured that queen HALI'MAH was his *grandmother*; and that he was the *ſixth* king; but it muſt be remarked, that the words *jedd* and *jeddah* in *Arabick* are uſed for a male and female *anceſtor* indefinitely; and, without a correct pedigree of AHMED's family, which I expected to procure but was diſappointed, it would ſcarce be poſſible to aſcertain the time when his forefather obtained the higheſt rank in the government. In the year 1600, *Captain* JOHN DAVIS, who wrote an account of his voyage, found *Mayáta* governed by a king, and *Anſuame*, or *Hinzuàn*, by a queen, who ſhewed him great

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marks of friendſhip: he anchored before the town of *Demos* (does he mean *Domóni?*) which was as large, he ſays, as *Plymouth*; and he concludes from the ruins around it, that it had once been a place of ſtrength and grandeur. I can only ſay, that I obſerved no ſuch ruins. Fifteen years after, Captain PEYTON and Sir THOMAS ROE touched at the *Comara* iſlands; and from their ſeveral accounts it appears, that an old Sultaneſs then reſided in *Hinzúàn*, but had a dominion paramount over all the iſles, three of her ſons governing *Mohila* in her name. If this be true, SOHAILI' and the ſucceſſors of HALI'MAH muſt have loſt their influence over the other iſlands; and, by renewing their dormant claim as it ſuits their convenience, they may always be furniſhed with a pretence for hoſtilities. Five generations of eldeſt ſons would account for an hundred and ſeventy of the years which have elapſed ſince DAVIS and PEYTON found *Hinzuàn* ruled by a Sultaneſs; and AHMED was of ſuch an age, that his reign may be reckoned equal to a generation: it is probable, on the whole, that HALI'MAH was the widow of the firſt *Arabian* king, and that her moſque has been continued in repair by his deſcendants; ſo that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe two centuries to have paſſed, ſince a ſingle *Arab* had the courage and addreſs to eſtabliſh in that beautiful iſland a form of government, which, though bad enough

in itſelf, appears to have been adminiſtered with advantage to the original inhabitants. We have lately heard of civil commotions in *Hinzuàn*, which we may venture to pronounce, were not excited by any cruelty or violence of AHMED, but were probably occaſioned by the inſolence of an oligarchy naturally hoſtile to king and people. That the mountains in the *Comara* iſlands contain diamonds, and the precious metals, which are ſtudiouſly concealed by the policy of the ſeveral governments, may be true, though I have no reaſon to believe it, and have only heard it aſſerted without evidence; but I hope that neither an expectation of ſuch treaſures, nor of any other advantage, will ever induce an *European* power to violate the firſt principles of juſtice, by aſſuming the ſovereignty of *Hinzuàn*, which cannot anſwer a better purpoſe than that of ſupplying our fleets with ſeaſonable refreſhment; and although the natives have an intereſt in receiving us with apparent cordiality, yet, if we wiſh their attachment to be unfeigned and their dealings juſt, we muſt ſet them an example of ſtrict honeſty in the performance of our engagements. In truth, our nation is not cordially loved by the inhabitants of *Hinzuàn*, who, as it commonly happens, form a general opinion from a few inſtances of violence or breach of faith. Not many years ago an *Euro-*

pean,

pean, who had been hoſpitably received and liberally ſupported at *Matſamúdo*, behaved rudely to a young married woman, who, being of low degree, was walking veiled through a ſtreet in the evening: her huſband ran to protect her, and reſented the rudeneſs, probably with menaces, poſſibly with actual force; and the *European* is ſaid to have given him a mortal wound with a knife or bayonet, which he brought, after the ſcuffle, from his lodging. This foul murder, which the law of nature would have juſtified the magiſtrate in puniſhing with death, was reported to the king, who told the Governor (I uſe the very words of ALWI') that "it "would be wiſer to huſh it up." ALWI' mentioned a civil caſe of his own, which ought not to be concealed. When he was on the coaſt of *Africa* in the dominions of a very ſavage prince, a ſmall *European* veſſel was wrecked; and the prince not only ſeized all that could be ſaved from the wreck, but claimed the Captain and the crew as his ſlaves, and treated them with ferocious inſolence. ALW'I aſſured me, that when he heard of the accident, he haſtened to the prince, fell proſtrate before him, and by tears and importunity prevailed on him to give the *Europeans* their liberty; that he ſupported them at his own expence, enabled them to build another veſſel, in which they ſailed to *Hinzuàn*, and departed thence for *Europe* or *India*: he

ſhewed me the Captain's promiſſory notes for ſums which to an *African* trader muſt be a conſiderable object, but which were no price for liberty, ſafety, and perhaps life, which his good, though diſintereſted, offices had procured. I lamented, that, in my ſituation, it was wholly out of my power to aſſiſt ALWI' in obtaining juſtice; but he urged me to deliver an *Arabick* letter from him, incloſing the notes, to the Governor-General, who, as he ſaid, knew him well; and I complied with his requeſt. Since it is poſſible that a ſubſtantial defence may be made by the perſon thus accuſed of injuſtice, I will not name either him or the veſſel which he had commanded; but if he be living, and if this paper ſhould fall into his hands, he may be induced to reflect how highly it imports our national honour, that a people whom we call ſavage, but who adminiſter to our convenience, may have no juſt cauſe to reproach us with a violation of our contracts.

DISSERTATION IX.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDUS.

WRITTEN IN JANUARY 1788.

THE great antiquity of the *Hindus* is believed ſo firmly by themſelves, and has been the ſubject of ſo much converſation among *Europeans*, that a ſhort view of their chronological ſyſtem, which has not yet been exhibited from certain authorities, may be acceptable to thoſe who ſeek truth without partiality to received opinions, and without regarding any conſequences that may reſult from their inquiries: the conſequences, indeed, of truth cannot but be deſirable, and no reaſonable man will apprehend any danger to ſociety from a general diffuſion of its light; but we muſt not ſuffer ourſelves to be dazzled by a falſe

glare, nor miſtake enigmas and allegories for hiſtorical verity. Attached to no ſyſtem, and as much diſpoſed to reject the *Moſaick* hiſtory, if it be proved erroneous, as to believe it if it be confirmed by ſound reaſoning from indubitable evidence, I propoſe to lay before you a conciſe account of *Indian* chronology, extracted from *Sanſcrit* books, or collected from converſations with *Pandits*, and to ſubjoin a few remarks on their ſyſtem, without attempting to decide a queſtion, which I ſhall venture to ſtart, "Whether it is not in fact the ſame "with our own, but embelliſhed and obſcured "by the fancy of their poets and the riddles "of their aſtronomers?"

One of the moſt curious books in *Sanſcrit*, and one of the oldeſt after the *Véda's*, is a tract *On Religious and Civil Duties*, taken, as it is believed, from the oral inſtructions of Menu, ſon of Brahmá, to the firſt inhabitants of the earth. A well-collated copy of this intereſting law tract is now before me; and I begin my diſſertation with a few couplets from the firſt chapter of it: "The ſun cauſes the diviſion "of day and night, which are of two ſorts, "thoſe of men and thoſe of the Gods; the "day for the labour of all creatures in their "ſeveral employments; the night for their "ſlumber. A month is a day and night of the "*Patriarchs*, and it is divided into two parts;

the

" the bright half is *their* day for laborious ex-
" ertions, the dark half *their* night for ſleep.
" A year is a day and night of the Gods, and
" that is alſo divided into two halves; the day
" is when the ſun moves toward the north,
" the night when it moves toward the ſouth.
" Learn now the duration of a night and day
" of BRAHMA', with that of the ages reſpec-
" tively and in order. Four thouſand years *of the*
" *Gods* they call the *Crita* (or *Satya*) age; and
" its limits at the beginning and at the end *are*,
" in like manner, as many hundreds. In the
" three ſucceſſive ages, together with their limits
" at the beginning and end of them, are thou-
" ſands and hundreds diminiſhed by one. This
" aggregate of four ages, amounting to twelve
" thouſand divine years, is called an age of
" the Gods; and a thouſand ſuch divine ages
" added together, muſt be conſidered as a day
" of BRAHMA': his night has alſo the ſame
" duration. The before-mentioned age of the
" Gods, or twelve thouſand of their years
" multiplied by ſeventy-one, form what is
" named here below a *Manwantara*. There
" are *alternate* creations and deſtructions of
" *worlds* through innumerable *Manwantaras*:
" the Being ſupremely deſirable performs all
" this again and again."

SUCH is the arrangement of infinite time, which the *Hindus* believe to have been revealed from

from Heaven, and which they generally understand in a literal ſenſe: it ſeems to have intrinſick marks of being purely aſtronomical; but I will not appropriate the obſervations of others, nor anticipate thoſe in particular which have been made by two or three of our Members, and which they will, I hope, communicate to the Society. A conjecture, however, of Mr. Paterson has ſo much ingenuity in it, that I cannot forbear mentioning it here, eſpecially as it ſeems to be confirmed by one of the couplets juſt cited: he ſuppoſes, that as a *month* of mortals is a day and night of the *Patriarchs* from the analogy of its bright and dark halves, ſo, by the ſame analogy, a day and night of mortals might have been conſidered by the ancient *Hindus* as a month of the lower world; and then a year of ſuch months will conſiſt only of twelve days and nights, and thirty ſuch years will compoſe a lunar year of mortals; whence he ſurmiſes, that the *four million three hundred and twenty thouſand* years, of which the four *Indian* ages are ſuppoſed to conſiſt, mean only years of twelve days; and, in fact, that ſum divided by *thirty*, is reduced to *an hundred and forty-four thouſand*: now, *a thouſand four hundred and forty* years are one *pada*, a period in the *Hindu* aſtronomy; and that ſum multiplied by *eighteen*, amounts preciſely to *twenty-five thouſand nine hundred and twenty*, the

the number of years in which the fixed ſtars appear to perform their long revolution eaſtward. The laſt-mentioned ſum is the product alſo of *an hundred and forty-four*, which, according to M. BAILLY, was an old *Indian* cycle, into *an hundred and eighty*, or the *Tartarian* period, called *Van*, and of *two thouſand eight hundred and eighty* into *nine*, which is not only one of the lunar cycles, but conſidered by the *Hindus* as a myſterious number and an emblem of Divinity; becauſe, if it be multiplied by any other whole number, the ſum of the figures in the different products remains always nine, as the Deity, who appears in many forms, continues one immutable eſſence. The important period of *twenty-five thouſand nine hundred and twenty* years is well known to ariſe from the multiplication of *three hundred and ſixty* into *ſeventy-two*, the number of years in which a fixed ſtar ſeems to move through a degree of a great circle; and although M. LE GENTIL aſſures us, that the modern *Hindus* believe a complete revolution of the ſtars to be made in *twenty-four thouſand* years, or *fifty-four* ſeconds of a degree to be paſſed in one year, yet we may have reaſon to think, that the old *Indian* aſtronomers had made a more accurate calculation, but concealed their knowledge from the people under the veil of *fourteen* MANWANTARAS, *ſeventy-one* divine ages, compound cycles,

cycles, and years of different ſorts from thoſe of BRAHMA' to thoſe of *Pátála*, or the *infernal regions*. If we follow the analogy ſuggeſted by MENU, and ſuppoſe only a day and night to be called a *year*, we may divide the number of years in a divine age by *three hundred and ſixty*, and the quotient will be *twelve thouſand*, or the number of his *divine years* in one age; but, conjecture apart, we need only compare the two periods 4,320,000 and 25,920, and we ſhall find that, among their common diviſors, are 6, 9, 12, &c. 18, 36, 72, 144, &c. which numbers, with their ſeveral multiples, eſpecially in a decuple progreſſion, conſtitute ſome of the moſt celebrated periods of the *Chaldeans*, *Greeks*, *Tartars*, and even of the *Indians*. We cannot fail to obſerve, that the number 432, which appears to be the baſis of the *Indian* ſyſtem, is a 60th part of 25,920, and, by continuing the compariſon, we might probably ſolve the whole enigma. In the preface to a *Váránes* almanack, I find the following wild ſtanza: " A *thouſand* great ages are a " day of BRAHMA; a *thouſand* ſuch days are " an *Indian* hour of VISHNU; *ſix hundred thou-* " *ſand* ſuch hours make a period of RUDRA; " and a million of *Rudra*'s (or *two quadrillions* " *five hundred and ninety-two thouſand trillions* " *of lunar years*) are but a *ſecond* to the Su-

" preme

" preme Being." The *Hindu* theologians deny the conclufion of the ftanza to be orthodox: *time*, they fay, *exifts not at all with* God; and they advife the aftronomers to mind their own bufinefs without meddling with theology. The aftronomical verfe, however, will anfwer our prefent purpofe; for it fhews, in the firft place, that cyphers are added at pleafure to fwell the periods; and if we take ten cyphers from a *Rudra*, or divide by ten thoufand millions, we fhall have a period of 259,200,000 years; which, divided by 60 (the ufual divifor of *time* among the *Hindus*), will give 4,320,000, or a great age, which we find fubdivided in the proportion of 4, 3, 2, 1, from the notion of *virtue* decreafing arithmetically in the *golden*, *filver*, *copper*, and *earthen* ages. But fhould it be thought improbable that the *Indian* aftronomers in very early times had made more accurate obfervations than thofe of *Alexandria*, *Bagdád*, or *Maraghah*, and ftill more improbable that they fhould have relapfed without apparent caufe into error, we may fuppofe, that they formed their divine age by an arbitrary multiplication of 24,000 by 180, according to M. Le Gentil, or of 21,600 by 200, according to the comment on the *Súrya Siddhánta*. Now, as it is hardly poffible that fuch coincidences fhould be accidental, we may hold it

nearly

nearly demonſtrated, that the period of a *divine age* was at firſt merely aſtronomical, and may conſequently reject it from our preſent enquiry into the hiſtorical or civil chronology of *India*. Let us however proceed to the avowed opinions of the *Hindus*, and ſee, when we have aſcertained their ſyſtem, whether we can reconcile it to the courſe of nature and the common ſenſe of mankind.

THE aggregate of their four ages they call a divine age, and believe that in every thouſand ſuch ages, or in every *day* of BRAHMA', *fourteen* MENUS are ſucceſſively inveſted by him with the ſovereignty of the earth: each MENU, they ſuppoſe, tranſmits his empire to his ſons and grandſons during a period of ſeventy-one divine ages; and ſuch a period they name a *Manwantara*: but ſince *fourteen* multiplied by *ſeventy-one* are not quite a *thouſand*, we muſt conclude, that *ſix divine ages* are allowed for intervals between the *Manwantaras*, or for the twilight of BRAHMA''s day. Thirty ſuch days, or *Calpas*, conſtitute, in their opinion, *a month* of BRAHMA'; twelve ſuch months one of his years; and an hundred ſuch years his *age*; of which age they aſſert that fifty years have elapſed. We are now then, according to the *Hindus*, in the firſt day, or *Calpa*, of the firſt month of the fifty-firſt year of BRAHMA''s age, and in the twenty-eighth divine

divine age of the ſeventh *Manwantara*; of which divine age the *three firſt* human ages have paſſed, and *four thouſand eight hundred and eighty-eight* of the fourth.

IN the preſent day of BRAHMA' the firſt MENU was ſurnamed SWA'YAMBHUVA, or *Son of the Self-exiſtent*; and it is He by whom the *Inſtitutes of Religious and Civil Duties* are ſuppoſed to have been delivered: in his time the Deity deſcended at a *Sacrifice*, and by his wife SATARU'PA' he had two diſtinguiſhed ſons and three daughters. This pair was created, for the multiplication of the human ſpecies, after that new creation of the world which the *Bráhmans* call PA'DMACALPI'YA, or the *Lotos* creation.

IF it were worth while to calculate the age of MENU's Inſtitutes according to the *Brahmans*, we muſt multiply four million three hundred and twenty thouſand by ſix times ſeventy-one, and add to the product the number of years already paſt in the ſeventh *Manwantara*. Of the five MENU's who ſucceeded him, I have ſeen little more than the names; but the *Hindu* writings are very diffuſe on the life and poſterity of the *ſeventh* MENU, ſurnamed VAIVASWATA, or *Child of the Sun*. He is ſuppoſed to have had ten ſons, of whom the eldeſt was ICSHWA'CU, and to have been accom-

accompanied by ſeven *Riſhi's*, or holy perſons, whoſe names were, CASYAPA, ATRI, VASISHTHA, VISWA'MITRA, GAUTAMA, JAMADAGNI, and BHARADWA'JA; an account which explains the opening of the fourth chapter of the *Gítà*: "This immutable ſyſtem "of devotion," ſays CRISHNA, "I revealed to "VIVASWAT, *or the Sun*; VIVASWAT de-"clared it to *his Son* MENU; MENU explained "it to ICSHWA'CU: thus the Chief *Riſhis* know "this ſublime *doctrine* delivered from one to "another."

IN the reign of this *Sun-born* Monarch, the *Hindus* believe the whole earth to have been drowned, and the whole human race deſtroyed by a flood, except the pious Prince himſelf, the ſeven *Riſhi's*, and their ſeveral wives; for they ſuppoſe his children to have been born after the Deluge. This general *pralaya*, or deſtruction, is the ſubject of the firſt *Purána*, or *Sacred Poem*, which conſiſts of fourteen thouſand ſtanzas; and the ſtory is conciſely, but clearly and elegantly told in the eighth book of the *Bhâgawata*, from which I have extracted the whole, and tranſlated it with great care, but will only preſent you here with an abridgement of it. "The demon HAYAGRI'VA "having purloined the *Védas* from the cuſtody "of BRAHMA', while he was repoſing at the "cloſe

" close of the sixth *Manwantara*, the whole
" race of men became corrupt, except the
" seven *Rishi's*, and SATYAVRATA, who then
" reigned in *Dravira*, a maritime region to
" the south of *Carnáta*: this Prince was per-
" forming his ablutions in the river *Critamálà*,
" when VISHNU appeared to him in the shape
" of a small fish, and, after several augmen-
" tations of bulk in different waters, was
" placed by SATYAVRATA in the ocean, where
" he thus addressed his amazed votary: " In
" *seven* days all creatures who have offended
" me shall be destroyed by a deluge; but thou
" shalt be secured in a capacious vessel, mira-
" culously formed; take therefore all kinds of
" medicinal herbs and esculent grain for food,
" and, together with the seven holy men, your
" respective wives, and pairs of all animals,
" enter the ark without fear; then shalt thou
" know GOD face to face, and all thy ques-
" tions shall be answered." Saying this, he
" disappeared; and after seven days the ocean
" began to overflow the coasts, and the earth to
" be flooded by constant showers, when
" SATYAVRATA, meditating on the Deity,
" saw a large vessel moving on the waters: he
" entered it, having in all respects conformed
" to the instructions of VISHNU, who, in the
" form of a vast fish, suffered the vessel to be

"tied with a great sea serpent, as with a cable, "to his measureless horn. When the deluge "had ceased, VISHNU slew the demon and re- "covered the *Véda's*, instructed SATYAVRATA "in divine knowledge, and appointed him the se- "venth MENU by the name of VAIVASWATA."

LET us compare the two *Indian* accounts of the *Creation* and the *Deluge* with those delivered by MOSES. It is not made a question in this tract, Whether the first chapters of *Genesis* are to be understood in a literal, or merely in an allegorical sense? The only points before us are, Whether the creation described by the *first* MENU, which the *Bráhmans* call that of the *Lotos*, be not the same with that recorded in our Scripture; and whether the story of the seventh MENU be not one and the same with that of NOAH? I propose the questions, but affirm nothing; leaving others to settle their opinions, whether ADAM be derived from *ádim*, which in *Sanscrit* means the *first*, or MENU from NUH, the true name of the Patriarch; whether the *Sacrifice* at which GOD is believed to have descended, allude to the offering of ABEL; and, on the whole, whether the two MENU's can mean any other persons than the great Progenitor, and the Restorer of our species.

ON a supposition that VAIVASWATA, or *Sun-born*, was the NOAH of Scripture, let us proceed to the *Indian* account of his posterity, which

which I extract from *The Puranárt' paprecásá*, or *The Purána's Explained*, a work lately composed in *Sanscrit* by RA'DHA'CA'NTA SARMAN, a *Pandit* of extensive learning and great fame among the *Hindus* of this province. Before we examine the genealogies of kings which he has collected from the *Purána's*, it will be necessary to give a general idea of the *Avátara's*, or *Descents*, of the Deity: the *Hindus* believe innumerable such descents or special interpositions of Providence in the affairs of mankind, but they reckon *ten* principal *Avatára's* in the current period of four ages; and all of them are described, in order as they are supposed to occur, in the following Ode of JAYADE'VA, the great Lyrick Poet of *India*.

1. "THOU recoverest the *Véda* in the water "of the Ocean of Destruction, *placing it* joyfully in the bosom of an ark fabricated *by thee*, O CE'SAVA, assuming the body of a *fish*: "Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

2. "THE earth stands firm on thy immensely broad back, which grows larger "from the callus occasioned by bearing that "vast burthen, O CE'SAVA, assuming the body "of a *tortoise*: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord "of the Universe!

3. "THE earth, placed on the point of thy "tusk, remains fixed like the figure of a black

" antelope on the moon, O CE'SAVA, assum-
" ing the form of a *boar*: Be victorious, O
" HERI, Lord of the Universe!

4. "THE claw with a stupendous point, on
" the exquisite lotos of thy lion's paw, is the
" black bee that stung the body of the em-
" bowelled HIRANYACASIPU, O CE'SAVA, as-
" suming the form of a *man-lion*: Be victorious,
" O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

5. "BY thy power thou beguilest BALI,
" O thou miraculous dwarf, thou purifier of
" men with the water (*of Gangà*) springing
" from thy feet, O CE'SAVA, assuming the
" form of a *dwarf*: Be victorious, O HERI,
" Lord of the Universe!

6. "THOU bathest in pure water, consisting
" of the blood of *Cshatriya's*, the world, whose
" offences are removed, and who are relieved
" from the pain of other births, O CE'SAVA,
" assuming the form of PARAS'U-RA'MA: Be
" victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

7. "WITH ease to thyself, with delight to
" the Genii of the eight regions, thou scat-
" terest on all sides in the plain of combat the
" demon with ten heads, O CE'SAVA, assuming
" the form of RA'MA CHANDRA: Be victo-
" rious, O HERI, Lord of the Universe!

8. "THOU wearest on thy bright body a
" mantle shining like a blue cloud, or like the
" water of *Yamunà* tripping towards thee

" through

" through fear of thy furrowing *plough-ſhare*, " O CE'SAVA, aſſuming the form of PALA-" RA'MA: Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the " Univerſe!

9. " THOU blameſt (oh wonderful!) the " whole *Véda*, when thou ſeeſt, O kind-hearted, " the ſlaughter of cattle preſcribed for ſacrifice, " O CE'SAVA, aſſuming the body of BUDDHA: " Be victorious, O HERI, Lord of the Uni-" verſe!

10. " FOR the deſtruction of all the impure, " thou draweſt thy cimeter like a blazing co-" met (how tremendous!) O CE'SAVA, aſ-" ſuming the body of CALCI: Be victorious, " O HERI, Lord of the Univerſe!

THESE ten *Avatára's* are by ſome arranged according to the thouſands of divine years in each of the four ages, or in an arithmetical proportion from four to one, and if ſuch an arrangement were univerſally received, we ſhould be able to aſcertain a very material point in the HINDU chronology; I mean the birth of BUDDHA, concerning which the different *Pandits* whom I have conſulted, and the ſame *Pandits* at different times, have expreſſed a ſtrange diverſity of opinion. They all agree that CALCI is yet to come, and that BUDDHA was the laſt conſiderable incarnation of the Deity; but the Aſtronomers at *Varánes* place him in the *third* age, and RA'DHA'CA'NT inſiſts, that he ap-

peared after the *thousandth* year of the *fourth*: the learned and accurate author of the *Dabistán*, whose information concerning the *Hindus* is wonderfully correct, mentions an opinion of the *Pandits* with whom he had conversed, that BUDDHA began his career *ten* years before the close of the third age; and *Góverdhana* of *Cashmir*, who had once informed me, that CRISHNA descended *two centuries* before BUDDHA, assured me lately, that the *Cashmirians* admitted an interval of *twenty-four* years (others allow only *twelve*) between those two divine persons. The best authority, after all, is the *Bhágawat* itself, in the first chapter of which it is expressly declared, that "BUDDHA, "the son of JINA, would appear at *Cícata*, "for the purpose of confounding the demons, "*just at the beginning* of the *Caliyug*." I have long been convinced, that, on these subjects, we can only reason satisfactorily from *written* evidence, and that our forensick rule must be invariably applied, *to take the declarations* of the BRA'HMANS *most strongly against themselves*, that is, *against their pretensions to antiquity*; so that on the whole we may safely place BUDDHA *just at the beginning* of the *present* age: but what is the *beginning* of it? When this question was proposed to RA'DHA'CA'NT, he answered: "Of a period comprising more than "four hundred thousand years, the first two "on

" or three thouſand may reaſonably be called the " *beginning*." On my demanding *written* evidence, he produced a book of ſome authority, compoſed by a learned *Góſwámi*, and entitled *Bhágawatámrita*, or, The *Nectar* of the *Bhágavat*, on which it is a metrical comment; and the couplet which he read from it deſerves to be cited: after the juſt mentioned account of BUDDHA in the text, the commentator ſays,

" Aſau vyactah calérabdaſahaſradwitayè gatè,
" Murtih patálavernà'ſya dwibhujà chicurójj'hità.

" HE *became* viſible, the-thouſand-and-ſe-" cond-year-of-the-Cali-*age being* paſt; his " body of-a-colour-between-white-and-ruddy, " with-two-arms, without-hair *on his head*."

Cícata, named in the text as the birth-place of BUDDHA, the *Góſwámi* ſuppoſes to have been *Dhermáranya*, a wood near *Gayà*, where a coloſſal image of that ancient Deity ſtill remains: it ſeemed to me of black ſtone; but, as I ſaw it by torch-light, I cannot be poſitive as to its colour, which may, indeed, have been changed by time.

THE *Bráhmans* univerſally ſpeak of the *Bauddhas* with all the malignity of an intolerant ſpirit; yet the moſt orthodox among them conſider BUDDHA himſelf as an incarnation of VISHNU: this is a contradiction hard to be reconciled, unleſs we cut the knot inſtead of

untying it, by ſuppoſing with GIORGI, that there were *two* BUDDHAS, the younger of whom eſtabliſhed the new religion, which gave ſo great offence in *India*, and was introduced into *China* in the firſt century of our era. The *Caſhmirian*, before mentioned, aſſerted this fact, without being led to it by any queſtion that implied it; and we may have reaſon to ſuppoſe, that *Buddha* is in truth only a general word for a *Philoſopher*. The author of a celebrated *Sanſcrit* Dictionary, entitled from his name *Amaracóſha*, who was himſelf a *Bauddha*, and flouriſhed in the firſt century before CHRIST, begins his vocabulary with nine words that ſignify *Heaven*, and proceeds to thoſe which mean *a Deity in general*; after which come different *claſſes* of *Gods*, *Demigods*, and *Demons*, all by *generick* names; and they are followed by two very remarkable heads: firſt, (not the *general names* of BUDDHA, but) the names of a *Buddha-in-general*, of which he gives us eighteen, ſuch as *Muni*, *Sáſtri*, *Munindra*, *Vináyaca*, *Samantabhadra*, *Dhermarája*, *Sugata*, and the like, moſt of them ſignificative of *excellence*, *wiſdom*, *virtue*, and *ſanctity*; ſecondly, the names of *a particular Buddha-Muni*-who-deſcended-in-the-family-of-SA'CYA (thoſe are the very words of the original), and his titles are, *Sácyamuni*, *Sácyaſinha*,

ſinha, *Servárt'haſiddha*, *Saudhódani*, *Gautama*, *Arcabandhu*, or *Kinſman of the Sun*, and *Máyádéviſuta*, or *Child of Máyá*: thence the author paſſes to the different epithets of particular *Hindu* Deities. When I pointed out this curious paſſage to RA'DHA'CA'NT, he contended, that the firſt eighteen names were *general* epithets, and the following ſeven, *proper names*, or *patronymicks* of one and the ſame perſon; but RA'MALO'CHAN, my own teacher, who, though not a *Bráhman*, is an excellent ſcholar and a very ſenſible unprejudiced man, aſſured me, that *Buddha* was a *generick* word, like *Déva*, and that the learned author, having exhibited the names of a *Dévatà* in general, proceeded to thoſe of a *Buddha* in general, before he came to particulars; he added, that *Buddha* might mean a *Sage* or a *Philoſopher*, though *Buddha* was the word commonly uſed for a mere *wiſe man* without ſupernatural powers.

IT ſeems highly probable, on the whole, that the BUDDHA, whom JAYADE'VA celebrates in his Hymn, was the *Sácyaſinha*, or *Lion of* SA'CYA, who, though he forbad the ſacrifices of cattle, which the *Véda's* enjoin, was believed to be VISHNU himſelf in a human form, and that another *Buddha*, one perhaps of his followers in a later age, aſſuming his name and character, attempted to overſet the whole

ſyſtem

ſyſtem of the *Bráhmans*, and was the cauſe of that perſecution, from which the *Bauddhas* are known to have fled into very diſtant regions. May we not reconcile th ſingular difference of opinion among the *Hindus* as to the time of Buddha's appearance, by ſuppoſing that they have confounded the *Two Buddha's*, the firſt of whom was born a few years before the cloſe of the laſt age, and the ſecond, when above a thouſand years of the preſent age had elapſed? We know, from better authorities, and with as much certainty as can juſtly be expected on ſo doubtful a ſubject, the real time, compared with our own era, when the ancient Buddha began to diſtinguiſh himſelf; and it is for this reaſon principally, that I have dwelled with minute anxiety on the ſubject of the laſt *Avatàr*.

The *Bráhmans*, who aſſiſted Abu'lfazl in his curious but ſuperficial account of his maſter's empire, informed him, if the figures in the *Ayini Acbarì* be correctly written, that a period of 2962 years had elapſed from the birth of Buddha to the 40th year of Acbar's reign, which computation will place his birth in the 1366th year before that of Our Saviour; but when the *Chineſe* government admitted a new religion from *India* in the firſt century of our era, they made particular inquiries concerning the age of the old *India* Buddha, whoſe birth,

according

according to COUPLET, they place in the 41ſt year of their 28th cycle, or 1036 years before CHRIST, and they call him, ſays he, FOE the ſon of MOYE or MA'YA'; but M. DE GUIGNES, on the authority of four *Chineſe* Hiſtorians, aſſerts, that FO was born about the year before CHRIST 1027, in the kingdom of *Caſhmír*: GIORGI, or rather CASSIANO, from whoſe papers his work was compiled, aſſures us, that, by the calculation of the *Tibetians*, he appeared only 959 years before the *Chriſtian* epoch; and M. BAILLY, with ſome heſitation, places him 1031 years before it, but inclines to think him far more ancient, confounding him, as I have done in a former tract, with the *firſt* BUDHA, or MERCURY, whom the *Goths* called WODEN, and of whom I ſhall preſently take particular notice. Now, whether we aſſume the medium of the four laſt mentioned dates, or implicitly rely on the authorities quoted by DE GUIGNES; we may conclude, that BUDDHA was firſt diſtinguiſhed in this country *about a thouſand* years before the beginning of our era; and whoever, in ſo early an age, expects a certain epoch unqualified with *about* or *nearly*, will be greatly diſappointed. Hence it is clear, that, whether the fourth age of the *Hindus* began about *one* thouſand years before CHRIST, according to GOVERDHAN's account of BUDDHA's birth, or *two* thouſand according to

that

that of RA'DHA'CA'NT, the common opinion, that 4888 years of it are now elapſed, is erroneous. And here, for the preſent, we leave BUDDHA, with an intention of returning to him in due time; obſerving only, that if the learned *Indians* differ ſo widely in their accounts of the age when their ninth *Avatár* appeared in their country, we may be aſſured, that they have no certain chronology before him, and may ſuſpect the certainty of all the relations concerning even *his* appearance.

THE received Chronology of the *Hindus* begins with an abſurdity ſo monſtrous, as to overthrow the whole ſyſtem; for, having eſtabliſhed their period of *ſeventy-one divine ages* as the reign of each *Menu*, yet thinking it incongruous to place a holy perſonage in times of *impurity*, they inſiſt, that the *Menu* reigns only in every *golden* age, and diſappears in the *three human ages* that follow it, continuing to dive and emerge like a water-fowl, till the cloſe of his *Manwantara*. The learned author of the *Puránárt'hapracáſa*, which I will now follow ſtep by ſtep, mentioned this ridiculous opinion with a ſerious face; but as he has not inſerted it in his work, we may take his account of the ſeventh *Menu* according to its obvious and rational meaning, and ſuppoſe, that VAIVASWATA, the ſon of SU'RYA, the ſon of CASYAPA, or *Uranus* the ſon of MARI'CHI, or *Light*, the ſon of BRAHMA, which is clearly an alle-

allegorical pedigree, reigned in the laſt golden age, or, according to the *Hindus*, three million eight hundred and ninety-two thouſand eight hundred and eighty-eight years ago. But they contend, that he actually reigned on earth *one million ſeven hundred and twenty-eight thouſand* years of mortals, or *four thouſand eight hundred* years of the Gods; and this opinion is another monſter ſo repugnant to the courſe of nature and to human reaſon, that it muſt be rejected as wholly fabulous, and taken as a proof, that the *Indians* know nothing of their *Sunborn* MENU, but his name and the principal event of his life; I mean the *univerſal deluge*, of which the *three* firſt *Avatárs* are merely allegorical repreſentations, with a mixture, eſpecially in the *ſecond*, of aſtronomical mythology.

FROM this MENU the whole race of men is believed to have deſcended; for the ſeven *Riſhi's*, who were preſerved with him in the ark, are not mentioned as fathers of human families; but ſince his daughter ILA' was married, as the *Indians* tell us, to the firſt BUDHA, or *Mercury*, the ſon of CHANDRA, or the *Moon*, a male Deity, whoſe father was ATRI, ſon of BRAHMA' (where again we meet with an allegory purely aſtronomical or poetical), his poſterity are divided into two great branches, called the *Children of the Sun* from his own ſuppoſed father, and the *Children of the Moon* from the parent of his daughter's huſband:

band: the lineal male descendants in both these families are supposed to have reigned in the cities of *Ayódhyà*, or *Audh*, and *Pratisht'hana*, or *Vitóra*, respectively, till the *thousandth year of the present age*; and the names of all the princes in both lines having been diligently collected by RA'DHA'CA'NT from several *Purána's*, I exhibit them in two columns arranged by myself with great attention.

SECOND AGE.

CHILDREN OF THE

	SUN.	*MOON.*	
	ICSHWA'CU,	BUDHA,	
	Vicucshi,	*Pururavas*,	
	Cucutst'ha,	Ayush,	
	Anénas,	Nahusha,	
5.	*Prit'hu*,	*Yayáti*,	5.
	Viswagandhi,	*Puru*,	
	Chandra,	Janaméjaya,	
	Yuvanáswa,	Prachinwat,	
	Sráva,	Pravíra,	
10.	Vrihadaswa,	Menasyu,	10.
	Dhundhumára,	Chárupada,	
	Drid'háswa,	Sudyu,	
	Heryaswa,	Bahugava,	
	Nicumbha,	Sanyáti,	
15.	Crisáswa,	Ahanyáti,	15.
	Sénajit,	Raudráswa,	
	Yuvanáswa,	Ritéyush,	

Mándhátri,

	SUN.	MOON.	
	Mándhátri,	Rantináva,	
	Purucutſa,	Sumati,	
20.	Traſadasyu,	Aiti,	20.
	Anaranya,	*Duſhimanta.*	
	Heryaſwa,	*Bharata,* *	
	Praruna,	(Vitat'ha,	
	Trivindhana,	Manyu,	
25.	Satyavrata,	Vrihatcſhétra,	25.
	Triſancu,	Haſtin,	
	Hariſchandra,	Ajamid'ha,	
	Róhita,	Ricſha,	
	Harita,	Samwarana,	
30.	Champa,	*Curu,*	30.
	Sudéva,	*Jahnu,*	
	Vijaya,	Surat'ha,	
	Bharuca,	Vidúrat'ha,	
	Vrica,	Sárvabhauma,	
35.	Báhuca,	Jayatſéna,	35.
	Sagara,	Rádhica,	
	Aſamanjas,	Ayutáyuſh,	
	Anſumat,	Acrodhana,	
	Bhagírat'ha,	Dévátit'hi,	
40.	Sruta,	Ricſha,	40.
	Nábha,	*Dilípa,*	
	Sindhudwípa,	Pratípa,	
	Ayutáyuſh,	Sántanu,	
	Ritaperna,	*Vichitravírya,*	
45.	Saudáſa,	Pándu,	45.
	Aſmaca,	*Yudhiſht'hir*),	

Múlaca,

SUN.

Múlaca,
Dasarat'ha,
Aídabidi,
50. Viswasaha,
C'hátw'ánga,
Dírghabáhu,
Raghu,
Aja,
55. *Dasarat'ha*,
RA'MA.

IT is agreed among all the *Pandits* that RA'MA, their *seventh* incarnate divinity, appeared as king of *Ayódhyà* in the *interval* between the *silver* and the *brazen* ages; and, if we suppose him to have begun his reign at the very beginning of that interval, still *three thousand three hundred* years of the Gods, or a *million one hundred and eighty-eight thousand* lunar years of mortals will remain in the *silver* age, during which the *fifty-five* princes between VAIVASWATA and RA'MA must have governed the world; but, reckoning *thirty* years for a generation, which is rather too much for a long succession of *eldest* sons, as they are said to have been, we cannot, by the course of nature, extend the *second* age of the *Hindus* beyond *sixteen hundred and fifty* solar years: if we suppose them not to have been eldest sons, and even to have lived longer than modern princes in

in a diſſolute age, we ſhall find only a period of *two thouſand* years; and if we remove the difficulty by admitting miracles, we muſt ceaſe to reaſon, and may as well believe at once whatever the *Bráhmans* chuſe to tell us.

In the *Lunar* pedigree we meet with another abſurdity equally fatal to the credit of the *Hindu* ſyſtem: as far as the twenty-ſecond degree of deſcent from VAIVASWATA, the ſynchroniſm of the two families appears tolerably regular, except that the children of the Moon were not all *eldeſt* ſons; for king YAYA'TI appointed the youngeſt of his five ſons to ſucceed him in *India*, and allotted inferior kingdoms to the other four, who had offended him; part of the *Dacſhin* or the *South* to YADU, the anceſtor of CRISHNA; the North, to ANU; the Eaſt, to DRUHYA; and the Weſt, to TURVASU, from whom the *Pandits* believe, or pretend to believe, in compliment to our nation, that we are deſcended. But of the ſubſequent degrees in the lunar line they know ſo little, that, unable to ſupply a conſiderable interval between BHARAT and VITAT'HA, whom they call his ſon and ſucceſſor, they are under a neceſſity of aſſerting, that the great anceſtor of YUDHISHT'HIR, actually reigned *ſeven and twenty thouſand years*; a fable of the ſame claſs with that of his wonderful birth, which is the ſubject of a beautiful *Indian* drama: now, if we ſuppoſe his life

X to

to have lasted no longer than that of other mortals, and admit VITAT'HA and the rest to have been his regular successors, we shall fall into another absurdity; for then, if the generations in both lines were nearly equal, as they would naturally have been, we shall find YUDHISHT'HIR, who reigned confessedly at the close of the *brazen* age, nine generations older than RA'MA, before whose birth the *silver* age is allowed to have ended. After the name of BHARAT, therefore, I have set an asterisk to denote a considerable chasm in the *Indian* History, and have inserted between brackets, as out of their places, his *twenty-four* successors, who reigned, if at all, in the following age immediately before the war of the *Mahábhárat*. The fourth *Avatàr*, which is placed in the interval between the *first* and *second* ages, and the fifth, which soon followed it, appear to be moral fables grounded on historical facts: the *fourth* was the punishment of an impious monarch by the Deity himself *bursting from a marble column* in the shape of a *lion*; and the fifth was the humiliation of an arrogant Prince, by so contemptible an agent as a mendicant *dwarf*. After these, and immediately before BUDDHA, come three great warriors all named RA'MA; but it may justly be made a question, whether they are not three representations of one person, or three different ways of relating the same history: the first and

second

second RA'MAS are said to have been contemporary; but whether all or any of them mean RAMA the son of CU'SH, I leave others to determine. The mother of the second RAMA was named CAU'SHALYA', which is a derivative of CUSHALA, and though his father be distinguished by the title or epithet of DA'SARAT'HA, signifying, that *his war-chariot bore him to all quarters of the world*, yet the name of CUSH, as the *Cáshmírians* pronounce it, is preserved entire in that of his son and successor, and shadowed in that of his ancestor VICUCSHI; nor can a just objection be made to this opinion from the nasal *Arabian* vowel in the word *Rámah* mentioned by MOSES, since the very word *Arab* begins with the same letter which the *Greeks* and *Indians* could not pronounce, and they were obliged, therefore, to express it by the vowel which most resembled it. On this question, however, I assert nothing; nor on another, which might be proposed: "Whether the *fourth* and *fifth Avatàrs* be not allegorical stories of the two presumptuous monarchs, NIMROD and BELUS?" The hypothesis, that *government* was first established, *laws* enacted, and *agriculture* encouraged in *India* by RAMA, about *three thousand eight hundred* years ago, agrees with the received account of NOAH's death, and the previous settlement of his immediate descendants.

THIRD AGE.

CHILDREN OF THE

	SUN.	*MOON.*	
	Cusha,		
	Atit'hi,		
	Nishadha,		
	Nabhas,		
5.	Pun'daríca,		
	Cshémadhanwas,	Vitat'ha,	
	Dévāníca,	Manyu,	
	Ahín'agu,	Vrihatcshétra,	
	Páripátra,	Hastin,	
10.	Ranach'hala,	Ajamíd'ha,	5.
	Vajranábha,	Richa,	
	Arca,	Samwarana,	
	Sugana,	*Curu*,	
	Vidhriti,	*Jahnu*,	
15.	Hiranyanábha,	Surat'ha,	10.
	Pushya,	Vidúrat'ha,	
	Dhruvasandhi,	Sárvabhauma,	
	Sudersana,	Jayatséna,	
	Agniverna,	Rádhica,	
20.	Síghra,	Ayutáyush,	15.
	Maru, supposed to be still alive.	Acródhana,	
	Prasusruta,	Dévatit'hi,	
	Sandhi,	Richa,	
	Amersana,	Dilípa,	
25.	Mahaswat,	Pratípa,	20.
		Viswabáhu,	

SUN.	*MOON.*
Víſwabháhu,	Sántanu,
Praſenajit,	Vichitravíiya,
Tacſhaca,	Pándu,
Vrihadbala,	*Yudhiſht'hira,*
30. Vrihadrana, Y. B. C. 3100.	*Paricſhit.* 25

Here we have only *nine-and-twenty* Princes of the Solar line between Ra'ma and Vrihadrana excluſively; and their reigns, during the whole *brazen* age, are ſuppoſed to have laſted near *eight hundred* and *ſixty-four thouſand* years, a ſuppoſition evidently againſt nature; the uniform courſe of which allows only a period of *eight hundred* and *ſeventy*, or at the very utmoſt, of *a thouſand* years for *twenty-nine* generations. Pari'cshit, the great nephew and ſucceſſor of Yudhisht'hir, who had recovered the throne from Duryo'dhan, is allowed without controverſy to have reigned in the interval between the *brazen* and *earthen* ages, and to have died at the ſetting-in of the *Caliyug*; ſo that if the *Pandits* of *Caſhmìr* and *Varánes* have made a right calculation of Buddha's appearance, the preſent, or *fourth*, age muſt have begun about *a thouſand* years before the birth of Christ, and conſequently the reign of Icshwa'cu could not have been earlier than *four thouſand* years before that great epoch; and even that date will perhaps appear, when it

it ſhall be ſtrictly examined, to be near *two thouſand* years earlier than the truth. I cannot leave the third *Indian* age, in which the virtues and vices of mankind are ſaid to have been equal, without obſerving, that even the cloſe of it is manifeſtly fabulous and poetical, with hardly more *appearance* of hiſtorical truth than the tale of *Troy*, or of the *Argonauts*; for YUDHISHT'HIR, it ſeems, was the ſon of DHERMA, the *Genius of Juſtice*; BHI'MA of PAVAN, or the *God of Wind*; ARJUN of INDRA, or the *Firmament*: NACUL and SAHADE'VA, of the two CUMA'RS, the CASTOR and POLLUX of *India*; and BHI'SHMA, their reputed great uncle, was the child of GANGA', or the GANGES, by SA'NTANU, whoſe brother DE'VA'PI is ſuppoſed to be ſtill alive in the city of *Calápa*; all which fictions may be charming embelliſhments of an heroick poem, but are juſt as abſurd in civil hiſtory, as the deſcent of two royal families from the Sun and the Moon.

FOURTH AGE.

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.	*MOON.*
Urucriya,	*Janaméjaya,*
Vatſavriddha,	*Satánica,*
Prativyóma,	Sahaſránica,
	Bhánu,

	SUN.	*MOON.*	
	Bhánu,	Aswamédhaja,	
5.	Déváca,	Asímacriſhna,	5.
	Sahadéva,	Némichacra,	
	Víra,	Upta,	
	Vrihadaſwa,	Chitrarat'ha,	
	Bhánumat,	Suchirat'ha,	
10.	Pratícáswa,	Dhritimat,	10.
	Supratíca,	Suſhéna,	
	Marudéva,	Sunít'ha,	
	Sunacſhatra,	Nrichacſhuh,	
	Puſhcara,	Suc'hinala,	
15.	Antaricſha,	Pariplava,	15.
	Sutapas,	Sunaya,	
	Amitrajit,	Médhávin,	
	Vrihadrája,	Nripanjaya,	
	Barhi,	Derva,	
20.	Critanjaya,	Timi,	20.
	Rananjaya,	Vrihadrat'ha,	
	Sanjaya,	Sudáſa,	
	Slócya,	Satáníca,	
	Suddhóda,	Durmadana,	
25.	Lángalada,	Rahínara,	25.
	Praſénajit,	Dandapáni,	
	Cſhudraca,	Nimi,	
	Sumitra, Y.B.C. 2100.	Cſhémaca.	

In both families, we ſee *thirty* generations are reckoned from Yudhisht'hir, and from

VRIHADBALA his contemporary (who was killed, in the war of *Bhárat*, by ABHIMANYU, ſon of ARJUN, and father of PARI'CSHIT), to the time when the *Solar* and *Lunar* dynaſties are believed to have become extinct in the preſent divine age; and for theſe generations the *Hindus* allot a period of *one thouſand* years only, or a *hundred* years for *three* generations; which calculation, though probably too large, is yet moderate enough, compared with their abſurd accounts of the preceding ages: but they reckon exactly the ſame number of years for *twenty* generations only in the family of JARA'SANDHA, whoſe ſon was contemporary with YUDHISHT'HIR, and founded a new dynaſty of Princes in *Magadha*, or *Bahàr*; and this exact coincidence of the time, in which the three races are ſuppoſed to have been extinct, has the appearance of an artificial chronology, formed rather from imagination than from hiſtorical evidence; eſpecially as twenty kings, in an age comparatively modern, could not have reigned a thouſand years.

I, NEVERTHELESS, exhibit the liſt of them as a curioſity; but am far from being convinced, that all of them ever exiſted: that, if they did exiſt, they could not have reigned more than *ſeven hundred* years, I am fully perſuaded by the courſe of nature and the concurrent opinion of mankind.

KINGS

KINGS OF MAGADHA.

Sahadéva,
Márjári,
Srutaſravas,
Ayutáyuſh,
5. Niramitra,
Sunacſhatra,
Vrihetſéna,
Carmajit,
Srutanjaya,
10. Vipra,
Suchi,
Cſhéma,
Suvrata,
Dhermaſútra,
Srama, 15.
Drid'haſéna,
Sumati,
Subala,
Sunı́ta,
Satyajit, 20.

Puranjaya, ſon of the twentieth king, was put to death by his miniſter Sunaca, who placed his own ſon Pradyo'ta on the throne of his maſter; and this revolution conſtitutes an epoch of the higheſt importance in our preſent inquiry; firſt, becauſe it happened according to the *Bhágawatámrita*, two years exactly before Buddha's appearance in the ſame kingdom; next, becauſe it is believed by the *Hindus* to have taken place *three thouſand eight hundred and eighty-eight* years ago, or *two thouſand one hundred* years before Christ; and, laſtly, becauſe a regular chronology, according to the number of years in each dynaſty, has been eſtabliſhed from the acceſſion of Pradyo'ta to the ſubverſion of the genuine *Hindu* government; and that chronology I will now

now lay before you, after obſerving only, that RA'DHA'CA'NT himſelf ſays nothing of BUDDHA in this part of his work, though he particularly mentions the two preceding *Avatára's* in their proper places.

KINGS OF MAGADHA.

	Y. B. C.
Pradyóta,	2100
Pálaca,	
Viſác'hayúpa,	
Rájaca,	
Nandiverdhana, *5 reigns*=138 *years*,	
Siſunága,	1962
Cácaverna,	
Cſhêmadherman,	
Cſhétrajnya,	
Vidhiſára, 5.	
Ajátaſatru,	
Darbhaca,	
Ajaya,	
Nandiverdhana,	
Mahánandi, 10 *r* = 360 *y*.	
NANDA,	1602

THIS prince, of whom frequent mention is made in the *Sanſcrit* books, is ſaid to have been murdered, after a reign of *a hundred years*, by a very learned and ingenious, but paſſionate and

and vindictive, *Bráhman*, whoſe name was CHA'NACYA, and who raiſed to the throne a man of the *Maurya* race, named CHANDRAGUPTA: by the death of NANDA, and his ſons, the *Cſhatriya* family of PRADYO'TA became extinct.

MAURYA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Chandragupta,	1502
Váriſára,	
Aſócaverdhana,	
Suyaſas,	
Deſarat'ha, 5.	
Sangata,	
Sáliſúca,	
Sómaſarman,	
Satadhanwas,	
Vrihadrat'ha, 10 *r* = 137 *y*.	

ON the death of the tenth *Maurya* king, his place was aſſumed by his Commander in Chief, PUSHPAMITRA, of the *Sunga* nation or family.

SUNGA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Puſhpamitra,	1365
Agnimitra,	

Sujyéſht'ha,

SUNDA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Sujyésht'ha,	1365
Vasumitra,	
Abhadraca, 5.	
Pulinda,	
Ghósha,	
Vajramitra,	
Bhágavata,	
Dévabhúti, 10 *r* = 112 *y*.	

THE last prince was killed by his minister VASUDE'VA, of the *Canna* race, who usurped the throne of *Magadha*.

CANNA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Vasudêva,	1253
Bhúmitra,	
Nárâyana,	
Susarman, 4 *r* = 345 *y*.	

A *Súdra*, of the *Andhra* family, having murdered his master SUSARMAN, and seized the government, founded a new dynasty of

ANDHRA KINGS.

	Y. B. C.
Balin,	908
Crishna,	

Srisántacarna,

ANDHRA KINGS.

		Y. B. C.
Sriſántacarna,		908
Paurnamáſa,		
Lambódara,	5.	
Vivilaca,		
Méghaſwáta,		
Vátamána,		
Talaca,		
Sivaſwáti,	10.	
Puríſhabhéru,		
Sunandana,		
Chacóraca,		
Bátaca,		
Gómatin,	15.	
Purímat,		
Médaſiras,		
Siraſcand'ha,		
Yajnyaſrì,		
Vijaya,	20.	
Chandrabíja,	21 *r* = 456 *y*.	

AFTER the death of CHANDRABI'JA, which happened, according to the *Hindus*, 396 years before VICRAMA'DITYA, or 452 B. C. we hear no more of *Magadha* as an independent kingdom; but RA'DHA'CA'NT has exhibited the names of *ſeven* dynaſties, in which *ſeventy-ſix* princes are ſaid to have reigned *one thouſand three*

three hundred and ninety-nine years in *Avabhriti*, a town of the *Dacshin*, or *South*, which we commonly call *Decan*: the names of the seven dynasties, or of the families who established them, are, *Abhíra*, *Gardabhin*, *Canca*, *Yavana*, *Turushcara*, *Bhurunda*, *Maula*; of which the *Yavana*'s are by some, not generally, supposed to have been *Ionians*, or *Greeks*, but the *Turushcara's* and *Maula's* are universally believed to have been *Turcs* and *Moguls*; yet RA'DHA'CA'NT adds: "when the *Maula* race was extinct, five Princes, named *Bhúnanda*, *Bangira*, *Sisunandi*, *Yasónandi*, and *Pravíraca*, reigned *an hundred and six years* (or till the year 1053) in the city of *Cilacilà*," which, he tells me, he understands to be in the country of the *Maháráshtra*'s, or *Mahráta's*: and here ends his *Indian* Chronology; for "after PRAVI'RACA," says he, "this Empire was divided among *Mléch'has*, or Infidels."

THIS account of the *seven modern dynasties* appears very doubtful in itself, and has no relation to our present enquiry; for their dominion seems confined to the *Decan*, without extending to *Magadha*; nor have we any reason to believe, that a race of *Grecian* Princes ever established a kingdom in either of those countries: as to the *Moguls*, their dynasty still subsists, at least nominally; unless that of

Chengiz

Chengiz be meant, and his ſucceſſors could not have reigned in any part of *India* for the period of *three hundred* years, which is aſſigned to the *Maula's*; nor is it probable, that the word *Turc*, which an *Indian* could have eaſily pronounced and clearly expreſſed in the *Nágarì* letters, ſhould have been corrupted into *Turuſhcara*. On the whole, we may ſafely cloſe the moſt authentick ſyſtem of *Hindu* Chronology, that I have yet been able to procure, with the death of CHANDRABI'JA. Should any farther information be attainable, we ſhall, perhaps, in due time attain it, either from books or inſcriptions in the *Sanſcrit* language; but from the materials with which we are at preſent ſupplied, we may eſtabliſh as indubitable the two following propoſitions; that the *three firſt* ages of the *Hindus* are chiefly *mythological*, whether their mythology was founded on the dark enigmas of their aſtronomers or on the heroick fictions of their poets; and, that the *fourth*, or *hiſtorical*, age cannot be carried farther back than about two thouſand years before CHRIST. Even in the hiſtory of the preſent age, the generations of men and the reigns of kings are extended beyond the courſe of nature, and beyond the average reſulting from the accounts of the *Bráhmans* themſelves; for they aſſign to *an hundred and forty-two* modern reigns

reigns a period of *three thousand one hundred and fifty-three* years, or about *twenty-two* years to a reign, one with another; yet they represent only four *Canna* Princes on the throne of *Magadha* for a period of *three hundred* and *forty-five* years; now it is even more improbable, that four successive kings should have reigned *eighty-six years and four months* each, than that NANDA should have been king an *hundred* years, and murdered at last. Neither account can be credited; but, that we may allow the highest probable antiquity to the *Hindu* government, let us grant, that *three generations* of men were equal on an average to *an hundred* years, and that *Indian* Princes have reigned, one with another, *two and twenty*; then reckoning thirty generations from ARJUN, the brother of YUDHISHT'HIRA, to the extinction of his race, and taking the *Chinese* account of BUDDHA's birth from M. DE GUIGNES, as the most authentic medium between ABU'LFAZL and the *Tibetians*, we may arrange the corrected *Hindu* Chronology according to the following table, supplying the word *about* or *nearly* (since perfect accuracy cannot be attained and ought not to be required), before every date.

	Y. B. C.
Abhimanyu, *son of* ARJUN,	2029
Pradyóta, — —	1029
BUDDHA,	

		Y. B. C.
BUDDHA,	—	1027
NANDA,	— —	699
Balin,	— —	149
VICRAMA'DITYA	—	56
DE'VAPA'LA, *king of* Gaur,		23

IF we take the date of BUDDHA's appearance from ABU'LFAZL, we muſt place ABHIMANYU 2368 years before CHRIST, unleſs we calculate from the twenty kings of *Magadha*, and allow *ſeven hundred* years, inſtead of *a thouſand*, between ARJUN and PRADYO'TA, which will bring us again very nearly to the date exhibited in the table; and, perhaps, we can hardly approach nearer to the truth. As to *Rájà* NANDA, if he really ſat on the throne a whole century, we muſt bring down the *Andhra* dynaſty to the age of VICRAMA'DITYA, who with his feudatories had probably obtained ſo much power during the reign of thoſe princes, that they had little more than a nominal ſovereignty, which ended with CHANDRABI'JA, in the *third* or *fourth* century of the *Chriſtian* era; having, no doubt, been long reduced to inſignificance by the kings of *Gaur*, deſcended from GO'PA'LA. But, if the author of the *Dabiſtàn* be warranted in fixing the birth of BUDDHA *ten* years before the *Caliyug*, we muſt thus correct the Chronological Table:

		Y. B. C.
BUDDHA,	—	1027
Paricshit,	—	1017
Pradyóta, (reckoning 20 or 30 generations,)		317 or 17
		Y. A. C.
Nanda,	— —	13 or 313

This correction would oblige us to place VICRAMA'DITYA before NANDA, to whom, as all the *Pandits* agree, he was long posterior; and, if this be an historical fact, it seems to confirm the *Bhágawatámrita*, which fixes the beginning of the *Caliyug* about *a thousand* years before BUDDHA: besides that, BALIN would then be brought down at least to the sixth and CHANDRABI'JA to the tenth century after CHRIST, without leaving room for the subsequent dynasties, if they reigned successively.

THUS have we given a sketch of *Indian* History through the longest period fairly assignable to it, and have traced the foundation of the *Indian* empire above *three thousand eight hundred* years from the present time; but, on a subject in itself so obscure, and so much clouded by the fictions of the *Bráhmans*, who, to aggrandize themselves, have designedly raised their antiquity beyond the truth, we must be satisfied with probable conjecture and just reasoning

ſoning from the beſt attainable data; nor can we hope for a ſyſtem of *Indian* Chronology to which no objection can be made, unleſs the aſtronomical books in *Sanſcrit* ſhall clearly aſcertain the places of the colures in ſome preciſe years of the hiſtorical age; not by looſe traditions, like that of a coarſe obſervation by CHIRON, who poſſibly never exiſted, for "he "lived, ſays NEWTON, in the golden age," which muſt long have preceded the *Argonautick* expedition) but by ſuch evidence as our own aſtronomers and ſcholars ſhall allow to be unexceptionable.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,
according to one of the HYPOTHESES *intimated in the preceding Tract.*

CHRISTIAN and MUSELMAN.	HINDU.	Years from 1788 of our era.
ADAM,	MENU I. Age I.	5794
NOAH,	MENU II.	4737
Deluge,		4138
Nimrod,	*Hiranyacasipu*. Age II.	4006
Bél,	*Bali*,	3892
RAMA,	RAMA. Age III.	3817
Noah's death,		3787
	Pradyóta,	2817
	BUDDHA. Age IV.	2815
	Nanda,	2487
	Balin,	1937
	Vacramáditya,	1844
	Dévapála,	1811
CHRIST,		1787
	Náráyanpála,	1721
	Sacá,	1709
Walíd,		1080
Mahmúd,		786
Chengiz,		548
Taimúr,		391
Babur,		276
Nádirshàh,		49

DIS-

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOGI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

DISSERTATION X.

A SUPPLEMENT TO THE ESSAY ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY.

OUR ingenious associate Mr. SAMUEL DAVIS, whom I name with respect and applause, and who will soon, I trust, convince M. BAILLY, that it is very possible for an *European* to translate and explain the *Súrya Siddhánta*, favoured me lately with a copy, taken by his *Pandit*, of the original passage mentioned in his paper on the Astronomical Computations of the *Hindus*, concerning the places of the colures in the time of VARA'HA, compared with their position in the age of a certain *Muni*, or ancient *Indian* philosopher; and the passage appears to afford evidence of two actual observations, which will ascertain the chronology of the *Hindus*, if not by rigorous demonstration, at least by a near approach to it.

THE copy of the *Várâhísanhitá*, from which the three pages, received by me, had been transcribed, is unhappily so incorrect (if the tran-

ſcript itſelf was not haſtily made) that every line of it muſt be disfigured by ſome groſs error; and my *Pandit*, who examined the paſſage carefully at his own houſe, gave it up as inexplicable; ſo that, if I had not ſtudied the ſyſtem of *Sanſcrit* proſody, I ſhould have laid it aſide in deſpair: but though it was written as proſe, without any ſort of diſtinction or punctuation, yet, when I read it aloud, my ear caught in ſome ſentences the cadence of verſe, and of a particular metre, called *A'ryà*, which is regulated (not by the *number* of ſyllables, like other *Indian* meaſures, but) by the proportion of *times*, or *ſyllabick moments*, in the four diviſions, of which every ſtanza conſiſts. By numbering thoſe moments and fixing their proportion, I was enabled to reſtore the text of VARA'HA, with the perfect aſſent of the learned *Bráhmen* who attends me; and, with his aſſiſtance, I alſo corrected the comment written by BHATTO'TPALA, who, it ſeems, was a ſon of the author, together with three curious paſſages which are cited in it. Another *Pandit* afterwards brought me a copy of the whole original work, which confirmed my conjectural emendations, except in two immaterial ſyllables, and except, that the firſt of the ſix couplets in the text is quoted in the commentary from a different work entitled *Panchaſiddhántica*: five of them were compoſed by VARA'HA himſelf,

ſelf, and the third chapter of his treatiſe begins with them.

BEFORE I produce the original verſes, it may be uſeful to give you an idea of the *A'ryà* meaſure, which will appear more diſtinctly in Latin than in any modern language of *Europe*:

Tigridas, apros, thoas, tyrannos, peſſima monſtra, venemur;
Dic hinnulus, dic lepus male quid egerint graminivori.

The couplet might be ſo arranged, as to begin and end with the cadence of an hexameter and pentameter, ſix *moments* being interpoſed in the middle of the long, and ſeven in that of the ſhort, hemiſtich:

Thoas, apros, tigridas nos *venemur*, pejoreſque tyrannos:
Dic tibi cerva, lepus *tibi dic male quid* egerit herbivorus.

Since the *A'ryà* meaſure, however, may be almoſt infinitely varied, the couplet would have a form completely *Roman*, if the proportion of *ſyllabick inſtants*, in the long and ſhort verſes, were *twenty-four* to *twenty*, inſtead of *thirty* to *twenty-ſeven*:

Venor apros tigridaſque, et, peſſima monſtra, tyrannos:
Cerva mali quid agunt herbivoruſque lepus?

I now exhibit the five ſtanzas of VARA'HA in *European* characters.

Aſléſhárdhácddacſhinamuttaramayanan raverdhaniſht'hádyan
Núnan cadáchidásídyénóctan púrva ſaſtréſhu.
Sámpratamayanan ſavituh carcátacádyan mrígáditaſchányat:
Uctábhávè vicrítih pratyacſhaperícſhanair vyactih.
Dúraſt'hachihnavédyádudayé'ſtamayé'pivà ſahaſránſóh,

 Ch'há-

Ch'háyápravésanirgamachihnairvà mandálè mahati.
Aprápya macaramarcò vinivrittò hanti sáparán yámyán,
Carcátacamasanpráptò vinivríttaschóttarán saindrín.
Uttaramayanamatítya vyávrittah cshémasasya vríddhicarah,
Pracritist'haschápyévan vicritigatir bhayacridushnánsuh.

Of the five couplets thus exhibited, the following translation is most scrupulously literal;

"Certainly the southern solstice was "once in the middle of *Aslesha*, the northern "in the first *degree* of *Dhanisht'hà*, by what *is* "recorded in former *Sástras*. At present one "solstice is in the first *degree* of *Carcata*, and "the other in the first of *Maçara*: that which "*is* recorded not appearing, a change *must* "*have happened*; and the proof arises from "ocular demonstrations; *that is*, by observing "the remote object and its marks at the rising "or setting of the sun, or by the marks, in a "large *graduated* circle, of the shadow's in-"gress and egress. The sun, by turning back "without having reached *Macara*, destroys the "south and the west; by turning back with-"out having reached *Carcata*, the north and "east. By returning, when he has just "passed the winter solstitial point, he makes "wealth secure and grain abundant, since he "moves thus according to nature; but the sun, "by moving unnaturally, excites terrour."

Now the *Hindu* Astronomers agree, that the 1st *January* 1790 was in the year 4891 of the

the *Caliyuga*, or their *fourth* period, at the beginning of which, they ſay, the equinoctial points were in the firſt degrees of *Méſha* and *Tulà*; but they are alſo of opinion, that the vernal equinox oſcillates from the third of *Mína* to the twenty-ſeventh of *Méſha* and back again in 7200 years, which they divide into four *pádas*, and conſequently that it moves, in the two intermediate *pádas*, from the firſt to the twenty-ſeventh of *Méſha* and back again in 3600 years; the colure cutting their ecliptick in the firſt of *Méſha*, which coincides with the firſt of *Aſwinì*, at the beginning of every ſuch oſcillatory period. VARA'HA, ſurnamed MIHIRA, or the Sun, from his knowledge of aſtronomy, and uſually diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Achárya*, or teacher of the *Véda*, lived confeſſedly when the *Caliyuga* was far advanced; and, ſince by actual obſervation he found the ſolſtitial points in the firſt degrees of *Carcata* and *Macara*, the equinoctial points were at the ſame time in the firſt of *Méſha* and *Tulà*: he lived, therefore, in the year 3600 of the fourth *Indian* period, or 1291 years before 1ſt *January* 1790, that is, about the year 499 of our era. This date correſponds with the *ayanánſa*, or preceſſion, calculated by the rule of the *Súryaſiddhánta*; for 19° 21′ 54″ would be the preceſſion of the equinox in 1291 years, according to the *Hindu* computation of 54″ annually, which gives us the origin of the

the *Indian* Zodiack nearly; but, by NEWTON's demonſtrations, which agree as well with the phenomena, as the varying denſity of our earth will admit, the equinox recedes about 50″ every year, and has receded 17° 55′ 50″ ſince the time of VARA'HA, which gives us more nearly in our own ſphere the firſt degree of *Mésha* in that of the *Hindus*. By the obſervation recorded in older *Sáſtras*, the equinox had gone back 23° 20′, or about 1680 years had intervened, between the age of the *Muni* and that of the modern aſtronomer: the former obſervation, therefore, muſt have been made about 2971 years before 1ſt *January* 1790, that is 1181 before CHRIST.

WE come now to the commentary, which contains information of the greateſt importance. By former *Sáſtras* are meant, ſays BHATTO'PTALA, the books of PARA'SARA and of other *Munis*; and he then cites from the *Páráſara Sanhitá* the following paſſage, which is in modulated proſe, and in a ſtyle much reſembling that of the *Védas*.

SRAVISHTA'DYA'T pauſhn'ardhantan charah ſi'siró; vaſantah pauſhnárdhát róhinyántan; ſaumyádyádáſléſhárdhántan gríſhmah; právridáſléſhárdhát haſtántan; chitrádyát jyeſh't'hárdhántan sarat; hémantò jyeſh't'hárdhát vaiſhn'avántan.

"THE

"The season of *Sisira* is from the first of "*Dhanisht'há* to the middle of *Révatì*; that of "*Vasanta* from the middle of *Révatì* to the "end of *Róhini*; that of *Grìshma* from the be-"ginning of *Mrigrásiras* to the middle of "*Asléshà*; that of *Ver-shà* from the middle of "*Asléshà* to the end of *Hasta*; that of *Sarad* "from the first of *Chitrà* to the middle of "*Jyésht'hà*; that of *Hémanta* from the middle "of *Jyésht'hà* to the end of *Sravanà*."

This account of the six *Indian* seasons, each of which is co-extensive with two signs, or four lunar stations and a half, places the solstitial points, as Vara'ha has asserted, in the first degree of *Dhanisht'hà*, and the middle, or 6° 40′, of *A'sléshà*, while the equinoctial points were in the *tenth* degree of *Bharanì* and 3° 20′ of *Visác'hà*; but, in the time of Vara'ha, the solstitial colure passed through the 10th degree of *Punarvasu* and 3° 20′ of *Uttaráshárà*, while the equinoctial colure cut the *Hindu* ecliptick in the first of *Aswinì* and 6° 40′ of *Chitrà*, or the *Yôga* and only star of that mansion, which, by the way, is indubitably the *Spike* of the Virgin, from the known longitude of which all other points in the *Indian* Zodiack may be computed. It cannot escape notice, that Para'sara does not use in this passage the phrase *at present*, which occurs

curs in the text of VARA'HA; ſo that the places of the colures might have been aſcertained *before* his time, and a conſiderable change might have happened in their true poſition without any change in the phraſes by which the ſeaſons were diſtinguiſhed; as our popular language in aſtronomy remains unaltered, though the Zodiacal aſteriſms are now removed a whole ſign from the places where they have left their names: it is manifeſt, nevertheleſs, that PARA'SARA muſt have written *within twelve centuries* before the beginning of our era, and that ſingle fact, as we ſhall preſently ſhow, leads to very momentous conſequences in regard to the ſyſtem of *Indian* hiſtory and literature.

ON the compariſon, which might eaſily be made, between the colures of PARA'SARA and thoſe aſcribed by EUDOXUS to CHIRON, the ſuppoſed aſſiſtant and inſtructor of the *Argonauts*, I ſhall ſay very little; becauſe the whole *Argonautick* ſtory (which neither was, according to HERODOTUS, nor, indeed, could have been, originally *Grecian*) appears, even when ſtripped of its poetical and fabulous ornaments, extremely diſputable; and, whether it was founded on a league of the *Helladian* princes and ſtates for the purpoſe of checking, on a favourable opportunity, the overgrown power of *Egypt*, or with a view to ſecure the

commerce

commerce of the *Euxine* and appropriate the wealth of *Colchis*, or, as I am diſpoſed to believe, on an emigration from *Africa* and *Aſia* of that adventurous race who had firſt been eſtabliſhed in *Chaldea*; whatever, in ſhort, gave riſe to the fable, which the old poets have ſo richly embelliſhed, and the old hiſtorians have ſo inconſiderately adopted, it ſeems to me very clear, even on the principles of NEWTON, and on the ſame authorities to which he refers, that the voyage of the *Argonauts* muſt have preceded the year in which his calculations led him to place it. BATTUS built *Cyrene*, ſays our great philoſopher, on the ſite of *Iraſa*, the city of ANTÆUS, in the year 633 before CHRIST; yet he ſoon after calls EURIPYLUS, with whom the *Argonauts* had a conference, king of *Cyrene*, and in both paſſages he cites PINDAR, whom I acknowledge to have been the moſt learned, as well as the ſublimeſt, of poets. Now, if I underſtand PINDAR (which I will not aſſert, and I neither poſſeſs nor remember at preſent the *Scholia*, which I formerly peruſed) the fourth *Pythian* Ode begins with a ſhort panegyrick on ARCESILAS of *Cyrene*: "Where, "ſays the bard, the prieſteſs, who ſat near "the golden eagles of JOVE, propheſied of "old, when APOLLO was not abſent from his "manſion,

" manſion, that BATTUS, the colonizer of " fruitful *Lybia*, having juſt left the ſa- " cred iſle (*Thera*), ſhould build a city " excelling in cars, on the ſplendid breaſt of " earth, and, *with the ſeventeenth generation*, " ſhould refer to himſelf the *Therean* pre- " diction of MEDEA, which that princeſs of " the *Colchians*, that impetuous daughter of " ÆETES, breathed from her immortal mouth, " and thus delivered to the half-divine ma- " riners of the warriour JASON." From this introduction to the nobleſt and moſt animated of the *Argonautick* poems, it appears, that *fifteen complete generations* had intervened between the voyage of JASON and the emigration of BATTUS; ſo that conſidering *three* generations as equal to *an hundred* or *an hundred and twenty* years, which NEWTON admits to be the *Grecian* mode of computing them, we muſt place that voyage at leaſt *five* or *ſix hundred* years before the time fixed by NEWTON himſelf, according to his own computation, for the building of *Cyrene*; that is, *eleven* or *twelve hundred and thirty-three* years before CHRIST; an age very near on a medium to that of PARA'SARA. If the poet means afterwards to ſay, as I underſtand him, that ARCESILAS, his contemporary, was the *eighth* in deſcent from BATTUS, we ſhall draw nearly the ſame concluſion, without having

having recourſe to the unnatural reckoning of *thirty-three* or *forty* years to a generation; for PINDAR was forty years old, when the *Perſians*, having croſſed the *Helleſpont*, were nobly reſiſted at *Thermopylæ*, and glorioully defeated at *Salamis*: he was born, therefore, about the ſixty-fifth *Olympiad*, or five hundred and twenty years before our era; ſo that, by allowing more naturally *ſix* or *ſeven hundred* years to *twenty-three* generations, we may at a medium place the voyage of JASON about one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy years before Our Saviour, or about *forty five* years before the beginning of the *Newtonian* chronology.

THE deſcription of the old colures by EUDOXUS, if we implicitly rely on his teſtimony and on that of HIPPARCHUS, who was, indiſputably, a great aſtronomer for the age in which he lived, affords, I allow, ſufficient evidence of ſome rude obſervation about 937 years before the *Chriſtian* epoch; and, if the cardinal points had receded from thoſe colures 36° 29′ 10″ at the beginning of the year 1690, and 37° 52′ 30″ on the firſt of *January* in the preſent year, they muſt have gone back 3° 23′ 20″ between the obſervation implied by PARA'SAR and that recorded by EUDOXUS; or, in other words, 244 years muſt have elapſed between the two obſervations: but, this diſquiſition having

having little relation to our principal ſubject, I proceed to the laſt couplets of our *Indian* aſtronomer VARA'HA MIHIRA: which, though merely aſtrological and conſequently abſurd, will give occaſion to remarks of no ſmall importance. They imply, that, when the ſolſtices are not in the firſt degrees of *Carcata* and *Macara*, the motion of the ſun is contrary to nature, and being cauſed, as the commentator intimates, by ſome *utpáta*, or preternatural agency, muſt neceſſarily be productive of misfortune; and this vain idea ſeems to indicate a very ſuperficial knowledge even of the ſyſtem which *Varáha* undertook to explain; but he might have adopted it ſolely as a religious tenet, on the authority of GARGA, a prieſt of eminent ſanctity, who expreſſes the ſame wild notion in the following couplet:

> Yadà nivertatè'práptah ſraviſhtámuttaráyanè,
> Aſléſhán dacſhiné'práptaſtadàvidyànmahadbhayan.

"WHEN the *ſun* returns, not having reached "*Dhaniſht'hà* in the northern ſolſtice, *or* not having reached *Aſléſhà* in the ſouthern, then "let a *man* feel great apprehenſion of danger."

PARA'SARA himſelf entertained a ſimilar opinion, that any irregularity in the ſolſtices would indicate approaching calamity; *Yadàpráptò vaiſhnavántam*, ſays he, *udanmárgé prepadyatè, dacſhiné, aſléſhám và mahááb hayaya*, that is, "When having reached the end of *Sravanà*, in

" in the northern path, or half of *Aslésha* in " the southern, he still advances, *it is* a cause " of great fear." This notion possibly had its rise before he regular precession of the cardinal points had been observed; but we may also remark, that some of the lunar mansions were considered as inauspicious, and others as fortunate: thus MENU, the first *Indian* lawgiver, ordains, that certain rites shall be performed under the influence of a happy *Nacshatra*; and where he forbids any female name to be taken from a constellation, the most learned commentator gives *A'rdrà* and *Révatì* as examples of ill-omened names, appearing by design to skip over others that must first have occurred to him. Whether *Dhanisht'hà* and *Aslésha* were inauspicious or prosperous I have not learned; but, whatever might be the ground of VARA'HA's astrological rule, we may collect from his astronomy, which was grounded on observation, that the solstice had receded *at least* 23°. 20'. between his time and that of PARA'SARA; for though he refers its position to the *signs*, instead of the *lunar mansions*, yet all the *Pandits* with whom I have conversed on the subject, unanimously assert, that the first degrees of *Mésha* and *Aswinì* are coincident. Since the two ancient sages name only the lunar asterisms, it is probable, that the solar division of the zodiack into twelve signs was not generally used in their

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days; and we know, from the comment on the *Súrya Siddhánta*, that the lunar month, by which all religious ceremonies are ſtill regulated, was in uſe before the ſolar. When M. BAILLY aſks, "Why the *Hindus* eſtabliſhed the beginning of the preceſſion, according to their ideas of it, in the year of CHRIST 499?" to which his calculations alſo had led him, we anſwer, Becauſe *in that year* the vernal equinox was found by obſervation in the origin of their ecliptick; and ſince they were of opinion, that it muſt have had the ſame poſition in the firſt year of the *Caliyuga*, they were induced by their erroneous theory to fix the beginning of their fourth period 3600 years before the time of VARA'HA, and to account for PARA'SARA's obſervation by ſuppoſing an *utpáta*, or *prodigy*.

To what purpoſe, it may be aſked, have we aſcertained the age of the *Munis*? Who was PARA'SARA? Who was GARGA? With whom were they contemporary, or with whoſe age may their's be compared? What light will theſe inquiries throw on the hiſtory of *India* or of mankind? I am happy in being able to anſwer thoſe queſtions with confidence and preciſion.

ALL the *Bráhmens* agree, that only one PARA'SARA is named in their ſacred records; that he compoſed the aſtronomical book before cited, and a law tract, which is now in my poſſeſſion; that

that he was the grandſon of VASISHT'HA, another aſtronomer and legiſlator, whoſe works are ſtill extant, and who was the preceptor of RA'MA, king of *Ayódhyà*; that he was the father of VYA'SA, by whom the *Védas* were arranged in the form which they now bear, and whom CRISHNA himſelf names with exalted praiſe in the *Gítà*; ſo that, by the admiſſion of the *Pandits* themſelves, we find only three generations between two of the RA'MAS, whom they conſider as incarnate *portions* of the divinity; and PARA'SARA might have lived till the beginning of the *Caliyuga*, which the miſtaken doctrine of an oſcillation in the cardinal points has compelled the *Hindus* to place 1920 years too early. This error, added to their fanciful arrangement of the four ages, has been the ſource of many abſurdities; for they inſiſt, that VA'LMIC, whom they cannot but allow to have been contemporary with RA'MACHANDRA, lived in the age of VYA'SA, who conſulted him on the compoſition of the *Mahábhárat*, and who was perſonally known to BALARA'MA, the brother of CRISHNA. When a very learned *Bráhmen* had repeated to me an agreeable ſtory of a converſation between VA'LMIC and VYA'SA, I expreſſed my ſurprize at an interview between two bards, whoſe ages were ſeparated by a period of 864,000 years; but he

 ſoon

ſoon reconciled himſelf to ſo monſtrous an anachroniſm, by obſerving, that the longevity of the *Munis* was preternatural, and that no limit could be ſet to divine power. By the ſame recourſe to miracles or to prophecy, he would have anſwered another objection equally fatal to his chronological ſyſtem: it is agreed by all, that the lawyer YA'GYAWALCYA was an attendant on the court of JANACA, whoſe daughter SI'TA' was the conſtant, but unfortunate wife of the great RA'MA, the hero of VA'LMIC's poem; but that lawyer himſelf, at the very opening of his work, which now lies before me, names both PARA'SARA and VYA'SA among twenty authors, whoſe tracts form the body of original *Indian* law. By the way, ſince VASISHT'HA is more than once named in the *Mánaviſanhità*, we may be certain, that the laws aſcribed to MENU, in whatever age they might have been firſt promulgated, could not have received the form in which we now ſee them above *three thouſand* years ago.

THE age and functions of GARGA lead to conſequences yet more intereſting: he was confeſſedly the *puróhita*, or officiating prieſt, of CRISHNA himſelf, who, when only a herdſman's boy at *Mat'hurà*, revealed his divine character to GARGA, by running to him with more than mortal benignity on his countenance, when the prieſt had invoked NA'RA'YAN. His daughter

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was eminent for her piety and her learning, and the *Bráhmans* admit, without conſidering the conſequence of their admiſſion, that ſhe is thus addreſſed in the *Veda* itſelf: *Yata úrdhwan nò và ſamópi*, GA'RGI, *éſha ádityò dyámúrdhànan tapati, dyà và bhúmin tapati, bhúmyà ſubhran tapati, lócán tapati, antaran tapatyanantaran tapati*; or, "That Sun, O daughter of GARGA, "than which nothing is higher, to which nothing is equal, enlightens the ſummit of the "ſky; with the ſky enlightens the earth; "with the earth enlightens the lower worlds; "enlightens the higher worlds; enlightens "other worlds; it enlightens the breaſt, "enlightens all beſides the breaſt." From theſe facts, which the *Bráhmans* cannot deny, and from theſe conceſſions, which they unanimouſly make, we may reaſonably infer, that if VYA'SA was not the compoſer of the *Védas*, he added at leaſt ſomething of his own to the ſcattered fragments of a more ancient work, or perhaps to the looſe traditions which he had collected; but whatever be the comparative antiquity of the *Hindu* ſcriptures, we may ſafely conclude, that the *Moſaick* and *Indian* chronologies are perfectly conſiſtent; that MENU, ſon of BRAHMA', was the *A'dima*, or *firſt*, created mortal, and conſequently our ADAM; that MENU, child of the Sun, was preſerved with *ſeven* others, in a *bahitra*, or ca-

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pacious ark, from an univerſal deluge, and muſt therefore be our NOAH ; that HIRANYACASIPU, the giant *with a golden axe*, and *Vali* or *Bali*, were impious and arrogant monarchs, and, moſt probably, our NIMROD and BELUS ; that the three RA'MAS, two of whom were invincible warriors, and the third, not only valiant in war, but the patron of agriculture and *wine*, which derives an epithet from his name, were different repreſentations of the *Grecian Bacchus*, and either the RA'MA of ſcripture, or his colony perſonified, or the Sun, firſt adored by his idolatrous family ; that a conſiderable emigration from *Chaldea* into *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India*, happened about *twelve* centuries before the birth of Our Saviour ; that SA'CYA, or SI'SAK, about two hundred years after VYA'SA; either in perſon or by a colony from *Egypt* imported into this country the mild hereſy of the ancient *Bauddhas* ; and that the dawn of true *Indian* hiſtory appears only three or four centuries before the *Chriſtian* era, the preceding ages being clouded by allegory or fable.

As a ſpecimen of that fabling and allegorizing ſpirit which has ever induced the *Bráhmens* to diſguiſe their whole ſyſtem of hiſtory, philoſophy, and religion, I produce a paſſage from the *Bhágavat*, which, however ſtrange and ridiculous, is very curious in itſelf, and cloſely connected with the ſubject of this Eſſay : it

it is taken from the fifth *Scandha*, or Section, which is written in modulated prose. "There "are some," says the *Indian* author, "who, for "the purpose of meditating intensely on the "holy son of VASUDE'VA, imagine yon ce-"lestial sphere to represent the figure of that "aquatick animal which we call *Sis'umára*; its "head being turned downwards, and its body "bent in a circle, they conceive *Dhruva*, or "the pole star, to be fixed on the point of its "tail; on the middle part of the tail they see "four stars, *Prejápati*, *Agni*, *Indra*, *Dherma*, "and on its base two others, *Dhátri* and *Vid-*"*hátri*: on its rump are the *Septarshis*, or "seven stars of the *Sacata*, or *Wain*; on its "back the path of the Sun, called *Ajavít'hì*, or "the *Series of Kids*; on its belly the *Gangà* of "the sky: *Punarvasu* and *Pushya* gleam re-"spectively on its right and left haunches; "*A'rdrà* and *Aslésbà* on its right and left feet *or* "*fins*; *Abhijit* and *Uttaráshád'hà* in its right "and left nostrils; *Sravanà* and *Purvâsh'ád'hà* "in its right and left eyes; *Dhanisht'hà* and "*Múla* on its right and left ears. Eight con-"stellations, belonging to the summer Solstice, "*Maghá*, *Púrvaphalgunì*, *Uttarap'halgunì*, *Has-*"*ta*, *Chitrà*, *Swátì*, *Visác'hà*, *Anurádhà*, "may be conceived in the ribs of its left side; "and as many asterisms, connected with the

" winter Solſtice, *Mrigasiras*, *Róhinì*, *Critticà*,
" *Bharanì*, *Aſwinì*, *Révatì*, *Uttarabhadrapadà*,
" *Púrvabhadrapadà*, may be imagined on the
" ribs of its right ſide in an inverſe order: let
" *Satabhiſhà* and *Jyéſht'hà* be placed on its right
" and left ſhoulders. In its upper jaw is
" *Agaſtya*, in its lower *Yama*; in its mouth the
" planet *Mangala*; in its part of generation,
" *Sanaiſchara*; on its hump, *Vrihaſpati*; in
" its breaſt, the Sun; in its heart, *Náráyan*;
" in its front, the Moon; in its navel, *Usanas*;
" on its two nipples, the two *Aſwinas*; in its
" aſcending and deſcending breaths, *Budha*;
" on its throat, *Ráhu*; in all its limbs, *Cétus*,
" or comets; and in its hairs, or briſtles, the
" whole multitude of Stars."

It is neceſſary to remark, that, although the *ſisumára* be generally deſcribed as the *ſea-hog* or *porpoiſe*, which we frequently have ſeen playing in the *Ganges*, yet *ſúſmàr*, which ſeems derived from the *Sanſcrit*, means in *Perſian* a large lizard: the paſſage juſt exhibited may nevertheleſs relate to an animal of the cetaceous order, and poſſibly to the dolphin of the ancients.

Before I leave the ſphere of the *Hindus*, I cannot help mentioning a ſingular fact: in the *Sanſcrit* language, *Ricſha* means a *conſtellation* and a *bear*, ſo that *Maharcſha* may denote either a *great bear*, or a *great aſteriſm*. Etymologiſts

logiſts may, perhaps, derive the *Megas Arctos* of the *Greeks* from an *Indian* compound ill underſtood; but I will only obſerve, with the wild *American*, that a bear *with a very long tail* could never have occurred to the imagination of any one who had ſeen the animal. I may be permitted to add, on the ſubject of the *Indian* Zodiack, that, if I have erred in a former Eſſay, where the longitude of the lunar manſions is computed from the firſt ſtar in our conſtellation of the Ram, I have been led into error by the very learned and ingenious M. BAILLY, who relied, I preſume, on the authority of M. LE GENTIL: the origin of the *Hindu* Zodiack, according to the *Súrya Siddhánta*, muſt be nearly ♈ 19°. 21′. 54″. in our ſphere, and the longitude of *Chitrà*, or the Spike, muſt of courſe be 199°. 21′. 54″. from the vernal equinox; but, ſince it is difficult by that computation to arrange the twenty-ſeven manſions and their ſeveral ſtars, as they are delineated and enumerated in the *Retnamálà*, I muſt for the preſent ſuppoſe, with M. BAILLY, that the *Zodiack* of the *Hindus* had two origins, one conſtant and the other variable; and a farther inquiry into the ſubject muſt be reſerved for a ſeaſon of retirement and leiſure.

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DISSERTATION XI.

ON THE

INDIAN GAME OF CHESS.

IF evidence be required to prove that Chess was invented by the *Hindus*, we may be satisfied with the testimony of the *Persians*; who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious inventions of a foreign people, unanimously agree, that the game was imported from the west of *India*, together with the charming fables of VISHNUSARMAN, in the sixth century of our era. It seems to have been immemorially known in *Hindustan* by the name of *Chaturanga*, that is, the four *anga's*, or *members*, of an army, which are said in the *Amaracósha* to be *hastyaswarat'hapádátam*, or *elephants*, *horses*, *chariots*, and *foot-soldiers*; and in this sense the word is frequently used by

by Epick poets in their deſcriptions of real armies. By a natural corruption of the pure *Sanſcrit* word, it was changed by the old *Perſians* into *Chatrang*; but the *Arabs*, who ſoon after took poſſeſſion of their country, had neither the initial nor final letter of that word in their alphabet, and conſequently altered it further into *Shatranj*, which found its way preſently into the modern *Perſian*, and at length into the dialects of *India*, where the true derivation of the name is known only to the learned. Thus has a very ſignificant word in the ſacred language of the *Bráhmans* been tranſformed by ſucceſſive changes into *axedrez*, *ſcacchi*, *échecs*, *cheſs*, and, by a whimſical concurrence of circumſtances, given birth to the *Engliſh* word *check*, and even a name to the *Exchequer* of *Great Britain*. The beautiful ſimplicity and extreme perfection of the game, as it is commonly played in *Europe* and *Aſia*, convince me, that it was invented by one effort of ſome great genius; not completed by gradual improvements, but formed, to uſe the phraſe of *Italian* criticks, *by the firſt intention*; yet of this ſimple game, ſo exquiſitely contrived, and ſo certainly invented in *India*, I cannot find any account in the claſſical writings of the *Bráhmans*. It is, indeed, confidently aſſerted, that *Sanſcrit* books on Cheſs exiſt in this

this country, and, if they can be procured at *Banáres*, they will aſſuredly be ſent to us: at preſent I can only exhibit a deſcription of a very ancient *Indian* game of the ſame kind; but more complex, and, in my opinion, more modern, than the ſimple Cheſs of the *Perſians*. This game is alſo called *Chaturanga*, but more frequently *Chatúráji*, or the *four Kings*, ſince it is played by four perſons repreſenting as many princes, two allied armies combating on each ſide: the deſcription is taken from the *Bhawiſhya Purán*, in which YUDHISHT'HIR is repreſented converſing with VYA'SA, who explains at the king's requeſt the form of the fictitious warfare, and the principal rules of it: "Having marked *eight* ſquares on all ſides," ſays the Sage, "place the *red* army to the eaſt, the "*green* to the ſouth, the *yellow* to the weſt, "and the *black* to the north: let the *elephant* "ſtand on the left of the *king*; next to him the "*horſe*; then the *boat*; and, before them all, "four *foot-ſoldiers*; but the *boat* muſt be placed "in the *angle* of the board." From this paſſage it clearly appears, that an army, with its four *anga's*, muſt be placed on each ſide of the board, ſince an *elephant* could not ſtand, in any other poſition, on the *left* hand of each *king*; and RA'DHA'CA'NT informed me, that the board conſiſted, like ours, of *ſixty-four*

ſquares,

ſquares, half of them occupied by the forces, and half vacant: he added, that this game is mentioned in the oldeſt law-books, and that it was invented by the wife of RA'VAN, King of *Lancà*, in order to amuſe him with an image of war, while his metropolis was cloſely beſieged by RA'MA in the ſecond age of the world. He had not heard the ſtory told by FIRDAUSI near the cloſe of the *Sháhnámah*, and it was probably carried into *Perſia* from *Cányacuvja* by BORZU, the *favourite phyſician*, thence called *Vaidya-priya*, of the great ANU'SHIRAVA'N; but he ſaid, that the *Bráhmans* of *Gaur*, or *Bengal*, were once celebrated for ſuperior ſkill in the game, and that his father, together with his ſpiritual preceptor, JAGANNA'T'H, now living at *Tribéni*, had inſtructed two young *Bráhmans* in all the rules of it, and had ſent them to *Jayanagar* at the requeſt of the late *Rájà*, who had liberally rewarded them. A *ſhip*, or *boat*, is ſubſtituted, we ſee, in this complex game for the *rat'h*, or armed *chariot*, which the *Bengaleſe* pronounce *rot'h*, and which the *Perſians* changed into *rokh*, whence came the *rook* of ſome *European* nations; as the *vierge* and *fol* of the *French* are ſuppoſed to be corruptions of *ferz* and *fil*, the *prime miniſter* and *elephant* of the *Perſians* and *Arabs*. It were vain to ſeek an etymology of the word *rook* in the modern *Perſian*

ſian language; for, in all the paſſages extracted from FIRDAUSI and JA'MI, where *rokh* is conceived to mean a *hero*, or a *fabulous bird*, it ſignifies, I believe, no more than a *cheek* or a *face*: as in the following deſcription of a proceſſion in *Egypt*: "when a thouſand youths, "like cypreſſes, box-trees, and firs, with locks "as fragrant, cheeks as fair, and boſoms as "delicate, as lilies of the valley, were marching gracefully along, thou wouldſt have ſaid, "that the new ſpring was *turning his face* "(not as HYDE tranſlates the words, *carried* "*on rokhs)* from ſtation to ſtation;" and, as to the battle of the *duwázdeh rokh*, which D'HERBELOT ſuppoſes to mean *douze preux chevaliers*, I am ſtrongly inclined to think, that the phraſe only ſignifies a combat of *twelve perſons face to face*, or ſix on a ſide, I cannot agree with my friend RA'DHA'CA'NT, that a *ſhip* is properly introduced in this imaginary warfare inſtead of a *chariot*, in which the old *Indian* warriours conſtantly fought; for though the *king* might be ſuppoſed to ſit in a *car*, ſo that the four *anga's* would be complete, and though it may often be neceſſary in a real campaign to paſs rivers or lakes, yet no river is marked on the *Indian*, as it is on the *Chineſe* cheſs-board, and the intermixture of ſhips with horſes, elephants, and infantry embattled on a plain, is

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an abſurdity not to be defended. The uſe of *dice* may, perhaps, be juſtified in a repreſentation of war, in which *fortune* has unqueſtionably a great ſhare, but it ſeems to exclude Cheſs from the rank which has been aſſigned to it among the ſciences, and to give the game before us the appearance of *whiſt*, except that pieces are uſed openly, inſtead of cards which are held concealed: nevertheleſs we find, that the moves in the game deſcribed by VYA'SA were to a certain degree regulated by *chance*; for he proceeds to tell his royal pupil, that "if "*cinque* be thrown, the *king* or a *pawn* muſt "be moved; if *quatre*, the *elephant*; if *trois*, "the *horſe*; and if *deux*, the *boat*."

HE then proceeds to the moves: "the *king* "paſſes freely on all ſides but over *one* ſquare "only; and with the ſame limitation the "*pawn* moves, but he advances ſtraight for-"ward, and kills his enemy through an angle; "the *elephant* marches in all directions, as far "as his driver pleaſes; the *horſe* runs obliquely "traverſing three ſquares; and the *ſhip* goes "over two ſquares diagonally." The *elephant*, we find, has the powers of our *queen*, as we are pleaſed to call the *miniſter*, or *general*, of the *Perſians*; and the *ſhip* has the motion of the piece to which we give the unaccountable appellation of *biſhop*, but with a reſtriction which muſt greatly leſſen his value.

The bard next exhibits a few general rules and ſuperficial directions for the conduct of the game: "the *pawns* and the *ſhip* both kill and "may be voluntarily killed; while the *king*, "the *elephant*, and the *horſe* may ſlay the foe, "but cannot expoſe themſelves to be ſlain. "Let each player preſerve his own forces with "extreme care, ſecuring his *king* above all, "and not ſacrificing a ſuperior, to keep an in- "ferior, piece." Here the commentator on the *Purán* obſerves, that the *horſe*, who has the choice of *eight* moves from any central poſition, muſt be preferred to the *ſhip*, who has only the choice of *four*; but this argument would not have equal weight in the common game, where the *biſhop* and *tower* command a whole line, and where a *knight* is always of leſs value than a *tower* in action, or the *biſhop* of that ſide on which the attack is begun. "It is by "the overbearing power of the *elephant*, that "the *king* fights boldly; let the whole army, "therefore, be abandoned, in order to ſecure "the *elephant*: the *king* muſt never place one "*elephant* before another, according to the rule "of GO'TAMA, unleſs he be compelled by want "of room, for he would thus commit a dan- "gerous fault; and if he can ſlay one of two "hoſtile *elephants*, he muſt deſtroy that on his "left hand." The laſt rule is extremely ob-

ſcure;

ſcure; but, as GO'TAMA was an illuſtrious lawyer and philoſopher, he would not have condeſcended to leave directions for the game of *Chaturanga*, if it had not been held in great eſtimation by the ancient Sages of *India*.

ALL that remains of the paſſage, which was copied for me by RA'DHA'CA'NT and explained by him, relates to the ſeveral modes in which a partial ſucceſs or complete victory may be obtained by any one of the four players; for we ſhall ſee, that, as if a diſpute had ariſen between two allies, one of the *kings* may aſſume the command of all the forces, and aim at ſeparate conqueſt. Firſt; "When any one *king* has "placed himſelf on the ſquare of another *king*, "which advantage is called *Sinháſana*, or *the* "*throne*, he wins a ſtake; which is doubled, "if he kill the adverſe monarch, when he "ſeizes his place; and, if he can ſeat him-"ſelf on the throne of his ally, he takes the "command of the whole army." Second-ly; "If he can occupy ſucceſſively the "thrones of all the three princes, he obtains "the victory, which is named *Chatúráji*, and "the ſtake is doubled, if he kill the laſt of the "three, juſt before he takes poſſeſſion of his "throne, but if he kill him on his throne, "the ſtake is quadrupled." Thus, as the commentator remarks, in a real warfare, a king

may be conſidered as victorious, when he ſeizes the metropolis of his adverſary; but if he can deſtroy his foe, he diſplays greater heroiſm, and relieves his people from any further ſolicitude. "Both in gaining the *Sinháſana* and the *Cha-*"*túrájì*, ſays VYA'SA, the *king* muſt be ſup-"ported by the *elephants* or by all the forces "united." Thirdly; "When one player has "his own *king* on the board, but the *king* of "his partner has been taken, he may re-"place his captive ally, if he can ſeize both "the adverſe *kings*; or, if he cannot effect "their capture, he may exchange his *king* for "one of them, againſt the general rule, and thus "redeem the allied *prince*, who will ſupply his "place." This advantage has the name of *Nripácriſhta*, or, *recovered by the king*; and the *Naucácriſhta* ſeems to be analogous to it, but confined to the caſe of *ſhips*. Fourthly; "If "a *pawn* can march to any ſquare on the op-"poſite extremity of the board, except that "of the *king*, or that of the *ſhip*, he aſſumes "whatever power belonged to that ſquare; "and this promotion is called *Shatpada*, or "the *ſix ſtrides*." Here we find the rule, with a ſingular exception, concerning the advancement of *pawns*, which often occaſions a moſt intereſting ſtruggle at our common cheſs, and which has furniſhed the poets and moraliſts

moralists of *Arabia* and *Persia* with many lively reflections on human life. It appears, that "this privilege of *Shat'pada* was not allowable, "in the opinion of GO'TAMA, when a player "had three *pawns* on the board; but, when "only one *pawn* and one *ship* remained, the "*pawn* might advance even to the square of a "*king* or a *ship*, and assume the power of "either." Fifthly; "According to the *Rác-"shasa's*, or *giants* (that is, the people of "*Lancà*, where the game was invented), there "could be neither victory nor defeat, if a *king* "were left on the plain without force: a "situation which they named *Cácacáshṭ'ha*." Sixthly; "If three *ships* happen to meet, and the "fourth *ship* can be brought up to them in the "remaining angle, this has the name of *Vrihan-"naucà*; and the player of the fourth seizes all "the others." Two or three of the remaining couplets are so dark, either from an error in the manuscript or from the antiquity of the language, that I could not understand the *Pandit's* explanation of them, and suspect that they gave even him very indistinct ideas; but it would be easy, if it were worth while, to play at the game by the preceding rules; and a little practice would, perhaps, make the whole intelligible. One circumstance, in this extract from the *Puràn*, seems very surprizing: all

games of hazard are poſitively forbidden by MENU, yet the game of *Chaturangà*, in which dice are uſed, is taught by the great VYA'SA himſelf, whoſe law-tract appears with that of GO'TAMA among the eighteen books which form the *Dhermaſáſtra*; but as RA'DHA'CA'NT and his preceptor JAGANNA'T'H are both employed by Government in compiling a Digeſt of *Indian* laws, and as both of them, eſpecially the venerable Sage of *Tribéni*, underſtand the game, they are able, I preſume, to aſſign reaſons, why it ſhould have been excepted from the general prohibition, and even openly taught by ancient and modern *Bráhmans*.

DIS-

DISSERTATION XII.

ON THE SECOND CLASSICAL BOOK OF THE CHINESE.

THE vicinity of *China* to our *Indian* territories, from the capital of which there are not more than *six hundred miles* to the province of YU'NA'N, must necessarily draw our attention to that most ancient and wonderful Empire, even if we had no commercial intercourse with its more distant and maritime provinces; and the benefits that might be derived from a more intimate connexion with a nation long famed for their useful arts and for the valuable productions of their country, are too apparent to require any proof or illustration. My own inclinations and the course of my studies lead me rather to consider at present their *laws*, *politicks*, and *morals*, with which their general literature is closely blended, than

their manufactures and trade; nor will I ſpare either pains or expence to procure tranſlations of their moſt approved *law-tracts*, that I may return to *Europe* with diſtinct ideas, drawn from the fountain-head, of the wiſeſt *Aſiatick* legiſlation. It will probably be a long time before accurate returns can be made to my inquiries concerning the *Chineſe Laws*; and, in the interval, the Society will not, perhaps, be diſpleaſed to know, that a tranſlation of a moſt venerable and excellent work may be expected from *Canton* through the kind aſſiſtance of an ineſtimable correſpondent.

ACCORDING to a *Chineſe* Writer, named LI YANG PING, ‘ the ancient characters uſed in ‘ his country were the outlines of viſible ob- ‘ jects earthly and celeſtial; but, as things ‘ merely intellectual could not be expreſſed by ‘ thoſe figures, the grammarians of *China* ‘ contrived to repreſent the various operations ‘ of the mind by metaphors drawn from the ‘ productions of nature: thus the idea of ‘ roughneſs and of rotundity, of motion and ‘ reſt, were conveyed to the eye by ſigns re- ‘ preſenting a mountain, the ſky, a river and ‘ the earth; the figures of the ſun, the moon, ‘ and the ſtars, differently combined, ſtood for ‘ ſmoothneſs and ſplendour, for any thing art- ‘ fully wrought, or woven with delicate work- ‘ manſhip;

'manſhip; extenſion, growth, increaſe, and 'many other qualities, were painted in cha-'racters taken from clouds, from the firma-'ment, and from the vegetable part of the 'creation; the different ways of moving, agi-'lity and ſlowneſs, idleneſs and diligence, 'were expreſſed by various inſects, birds, fiſh, 'and quadrupeds: in this manner paſſions 'and ſentiments were traced by the pencil, 'and ideas not ſubject to any ſenſe were exhi-'bited to the ſight; until by degrees new com-'binations were invented, new expreſſions ad-'ded; the characters deviated imperceptibly 'from their primitive ſhape, and the *Chineſe* 'language became not only clear and forcible, 'but rich and elegant in the higheſt degree.'

In this language, ſo ancient and ſo wonderfully compoſed, are a multitude of books abounding in uſeful, as well as agreeable, knowledge; but the higheſt claſs conſiſts of *Five* works; one of which, at leaſt, every *Chineſe* who aſpires to literary honours muſt read again and again, until he poſſeſs it perfectly.

The *firſt* is purely *Hiſtorical*, containing annals of the Empire from the *two thouſand-three hundred-thirty ſeventh* year before Christ: it is entitled Shi' King, and a verſion of it has been publiſhed in *France*; to which country we are indebted for the moſt authentick and moſt valu-

able ſpecimens of *Chineſe* Hiſtory and Literature, from the compoſitions which preceded thoſe of HOMER, to the poetical works of the preſent Emperor, who ſeems to be a man of the brighteſt genius and the moſt amiable affections. We may ſmile, if we pleaſe, at the levity of the *French*, as they laugh without ſcruple at our ſeriouſneſs; but let us not ſo far undervalue our rivals in arts and in arms, as to deny them their juſt commendation, or to relax our efforts in that noble ſtruggle, by which alone we can preſerve our own eminence.

THE Second Claſſical work of the *Chineſe* contains *three hundred* Odes, or ſhort Poems, in praiſe of ancient ſovereigns and legiſlators, or deſcriptive of ancient manners, and recommending an imitation of them in the diſcharge of all publick and domeſtick duties: they abound in wiſe maxims, and excellent precepts, 'their whole doctrine, according to *Cun-fu-tſu*, 'in the LU'NYU' or *Moral Diſcourſes*, being 'reducible to this grand rule, that we ſhould 'not even entertain a thought of any thing 'baſe or culpable;' but the copies of the SHI' KING, for that is the title of the book, are ſuppoſed to have been much disfigured, ſince the time of that great Philoſopher, by ſpurious paſſages and exceptionable interpolations; and the ſtyle of the Poems is in ſome parts

parts too metaphorical, while the brevity of other parts renders them obſcure; though many think even this obſcurity ſublime and venerable, like that of ancient cloyſters and temples, '*ſhedding*, as MILTON expreſſes it, *a* '*dim religious light*.' There is another paſſage in the LU'NYU', which deſerves to be ſet down at length: 'Why, my ſons, do you not 'ſtudy the book of Odes? If we creep on 'the ground, if we lie uſeleſs and inglorious, 'thoſe poems will raiſe us to true glory: in 'them we ſee, as in a mirror, what may beſt 'become us, and what will be unbecoming: 'by their influence we ſhall be made ſocial, 'affable, benevolent; for, as muſick combines 'ſounds in juſt melody, ſo the ancient poetry 'tempers and compoſes our paſſions: the Odes 'teach us our duty to our parents at home, 'and abroad to our prince; they inſtruct us 'alſo delightfully in the various productions of 'nature.' 'Haſt thou ſtudied, ſaid the Philoſopher to his ſon PEYU, the firſt of the 'three hundred Odes on the nuptials of Prince 'VE'NVA'M and the virtuous TAI SU? He 'who ſtudies them not, reſembles a man with 'his face againſt a wall, unable to advance a 'ſtep in virtue and wiſdom.' Moſt of thoſe Odes are near *three thouſand* years old, and ſome, if we give credit to the *Chineſe* annals, conſiderably

conſiderably older; but others are ſomewhat more recent, having been compoſed under the later Emperors of the *third* family, called SHEU. The work is printed in *four* volumes; and, towards the end of the *firſt*, we find the Ode, which COUPLET has accurately tranſlated at the beginning of the TA'HIO, or *Great Science*, where it is finely amplified by the Philoſopher: I produce the original from the SHI' KING itſelf, and from the book, in which it is cited, together with a double verſion, one verbal and another metrical; the only method of doing juſtice to the poetical compoſitions of the *Aſiaticks*. It is a panegyrick on VUCU'N, Prince of *Guey* in the province of *Honang*, who died, near a century old, in the *thirteenth* year of the Emperor PINGVANG, *ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix* years before the birth of CHRIST, or *one hundred und forty-eight*, according to Sir ISAAC NEWTON, after the taking of *Troy*; ſo that the *Chineſe* Poet might have been contemporary with HESIOD and HOMER, or at leaſt muſt have written the Ode before the *Iliad* and *Odyſſey* were carried into *Greece* by LYCURGUS.

THE verbal tranſlation of the thirty-two original characters is this:

'[1] Behold [2] yon [4] reach of *the river* [3] KI;
'[5] Its [6] green reeds how [7] luxuriant! how [8] luxuriant!

'Thus

' Thus[9] is[11] our[12] Prince adorned[10] with virtues;
' As[13] a carver,[14] as[15] a filer,[16] of ivory,
' As[17] a cutter[18] as[19] a polisher,[20] of gems.
' O how elate[21] and sagacious! O how dauntless[22] and composed!
' How worthy[23] of fame! How worthy[24] of reverence!
' We[25] have a Prince[27][28] adorned[26] with virtues,
' Whom to the end[29] *of time*[30] we[31] can not[32] forget.'

THE PARAPHRASE.

Behold, where yon blue riv'let glides
 Along the laughing dale;
Light reeds bedeck its verdant sides,
 And frolick in the gale:

So shines our Prince! In bright array
 The Virtues round him wait;
And sweetly smile th' auspicious day,
 That rais'd Him o'er our State.

As pliant hands in shapes refin'd
 Rich iv'ry carve and smoothe,
His *Laws* thus mould each ductile mind,
 And every passion soothe.

As gems are taught by patient art
 In sparkling ranks to beam,
With *Manners* thus he forms the heart,
 And spreads a gen'ral gleam.

What soft, yet awful dignity!
 What meek, yet manly, grace!
What sweetness dances in his eye,
 And blossoms in his face!

So ſhines our Prince! A ſky-born crowd
Of Virtues round him blaze:
Ne'er ſhall Oblivion's murky cloud
Obſcure his deathleſs praiſe.

The prediction of the Poet has hitherto been accompliſhed; but he little imagined, that his compoſition would be admired, and his Prince celebrated in a language not then formed, and by the natives of regions ſo remote from his own.

In the *tenth* leaf of the Ta' Hio a beautiful compariſon is quoted from another Ode in the Shi' King, which deſerves to be exhibited in the ſame form with the preceding:

'The[1] peach-tree, how fair[2]! how graceful[3]!
'Its[4] leaves[5], how blooming[6]! how pleaſant[7]!
'Such is[8] a[9] bride, when[10] ſhe enters[11] her bridegroom's houſe,
'And pays[12] due attention to[13] her[14] whole[15] family.'

The ſimile may thus be rendered:

Gay child of Spring, the garden's queen,
Yon peach-tree charms the roving ſight:
Its fragrant leaves how richly green!
Its bloſſoms how divinely bright!

So ſoftly ſmiles the blooming bride
By love and conſcious Virtue led
O'er her new manſion to preſide,
And placid joys around her ſpread.

The

THE next leaf exhibits a comparifon of a different nature, rather fublime than agreeable, and conveying rather cenfure than praife :

O[1] how horridly impends[2] yon[3] fouthern mountain[4]!
Its[5] rocks[6] in how vaft, how rude[7] a heap[8]!
Thus loftily[9] thou fitteft[10], O minifter[11] of YN[12];
All[14] the people[13] look up to thee[15] with dread[16].

Which may be thus paraphrafed :

See, where yon crag's imperious height
  The funny highland crowns,
And, hideous as the brow of night,
  Above the torrent frowns!

So fcowls the Chief, whofe will is law,
  Regardlefs of our ftate;
While millions gaze with painful awe,
  With fear allied to hate.

IT was a very ancient practice in *China* to paint or engrave moral fentences and approved verfes on veffels in conftant ufe ; as the words RENEW THYSELF DAILY were infcribed on the bafon of the Emperor TANG, and the poem of KIEN LONG, who is now on the throne, in praife of tea, has been publifhed on a fet of porcelain cups ; and, if the defcription juft cited of a felfifh and infolent ftatefman were, in the fame manner, conftantly prefented to the eyes and attention of rulers, it might produce fome benefit

benefit to their ſubjects and to themſelves; eſpecially if the comment of TSEM TSU, who may be called the XENOPHON, as CUN FU' TSU' was the SOCRATES, and MEM TSU the PLATO, of *China*, were added to illuſtrate and enforce it.

IF the reſt of the *three hundred* Odes be ſimilar to the ſpecimens adduced by thoſe great moraliſts in their works, which the *French* have made publick, I ſhould be very ſolicitous to procure our nation the honour of bringing to light the *ſecond* claſſical book of the *Chineſe*. The *third*, called YEKING, or the book of Changes, believed to have been written by FO, the HERMES of the Eaſt, and conſiſting of right lines variouſly diſpoſed, is hardly intelligible to the moſt learned *Mandarins*; and CUN FU' TSU' himſelf, who was prevented by death from accompliſhing his deſign of elucidating it, was diſſatisfied with all the interpretations of the earlieſt commentators. As to the *fifth*, or LIKI, which that excellent man compiled from old monuments, it conſiſts chiefly of the *Chineſe* ritual, and of tracts on Moral Duties; but the *fourth*, entitled CHUNG CIEU, or *Spring* and *Autumn*, by which the ſame incomparable writer meaned the *flouriſhing* ſtate of an Empire under a virtuous monarch, and the *fall* of king-

doms

doms under bad governors, muſt be an intereſting work in every nation. The powers, however, of an individual are ſo limited, and the field of knowledge is ſo vaſt, that I dare not promiſe more, than to procure, if any exertions of mine will avail, a complete tranſlation of the SHI' KING, together with an authentick abridgement of the *Chineſe* laws, civil and criminal. A native of *Canton*, whom I knew ſome years ago in *England*, and who paſſed his firſt examinations with credit in his way to literary diſtinctions, but was afterwards allured from the purſuit of learning by a proſpect of ſucceſs in trade, has favoured me with the *Three Hundred Odes* in the original, together with the LU'NYU', a faithful verſion of which was publiſhed at *Paris* near a century ago; but he ſeems to think, that it would require three or four years to complete a tranſlation of them; and Mr. COX informs me, that none of the *Chineſe*, to whom he has acceſs, *poſſeſs leiſure and perſeverance enough for ſuch a taſk*; yet he hopes, with the aſſiſtance of WHANG ATONG, to ſend me next ſeaſon ſome of the poems tranſlated into *Engliſh*. A little encouragement would induce this young *Chineſe* to viſit *India*, and ſome of his countrymen would, perhaps, accompany him; but, though conſiderable ad-

vantage

vantage to the public, as well as to letters, might be reaped from the knowledge and ingenuity of ſuch emigrants, yet we muſt wait for a time of greater national wealth and proſperity, before ſuch a meaſure can be formally recommended by us to our patrons at the helm of government.

DIS-

DISSERTATION XIII.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

ON THE

ANTIQUITY

OF THE

INDIAN ZODIACK.

I ENGAGE to ſupport an opinion (which the learned and induſtrious M. MONTUCLA ſeems to treat with extreme contempt), that the *Indian* diviſion of the Zodiack was not borrowed from the *Greeks* or *Arabs*, but, having been known in this country from time immemorial, and being the ſame in part with that uſed by other nations of the old *Hindu* race, was probably invented by the firſt progenitors of that race before their diſperſion. " The *Indians*, he " ſays, have two diviſions of the Zodiack; one, " like that of the *Arabs*, relating to the moon, " and conſiſting of *twenty-ſeven* equal parts, by " which they can tell very nearly the hour of " the night; another relating to the ſun, and, " like ours, containing twelve ſigns, to which

"they have given as many names, correſpond-
"ing with thoſe which we have borrowed
"from the *Greeks*." All that is true; but he adds: "It is highly probable that they received "them at ſome time or another by the inter-"vention of the *Arabs*; for no man, ſurely, "can perſuade himſelf, that it is the ancient "diviſion of the Zodiack formed, according "to ſome authors, by the foreſathers of man-"kind, and ſtill preſerved among the *Hindus*."[2] Now I undertake to prove, that the *Indian* Zodiack was not borrowed mediately or directly from the *Arabs* or *Greeks*; and ſince the ſolar diviſion of it in *India* is the ſame in ſubſtance with that uſed in *Greece*, we may reaſonably conclude, that both *Greeks* and *Hindus* received it from an older nation, who firſt gave names to the luminaries of heaven, and from whom both *Greeks* and *Hindus*, as their ſimilarity in language and religion fully evinces, had a common deſcent.

The ſame writer afterwards intimates, that "the time when *Indian* Aſtronomy received "its moſt conſiderable improvement, from "which it has now, as he imagines, wholly "declined, was either the age when the "*Arabs*, who eſtabliſhed themſelves in *Perſia* "and *Sogdiana*, had a great intercourſe with "the *Hindus*, or that when the ſucceſſors of

"Chengi'z

"CHENGI'Z united both *Arabs* and *Hindus* un-
"der one vaſt dominion." It is not the object of this eſſay to correct the hiſtorical errors in the paſſage laſt cited, nor to defend the aſtronomers of *India* from the charge of groſs ignorance in regard to the figure of the earth and the diſtances of the heavenly bodies; a charge, which MONTUCLA very boldly makes on the authority, I believe, of Father SOUCIET: I will only remark, that, in our converſations with the *Pandits*, we muſt never confound the ſyſtem of the *Jyautiſhicas*, or mathematical aſtronomers, with that of the *Pauránicas*, or poetical fabuliſts; for to ſuch a confuſion alone muſt we impute the many miſtakes of *Europeans* on the ſubject of *Indian* ſcience. A venerable mathematician of this province, named RA'MACHANDRA, now in his eightieth year, viſited me lately at *Criſhnanagar*, and part of his diſcourſe was ſo applicable to the inquiries which I was then making, that, as ſoon as he left me, I committed it to writing. "The
"*Pauránics*, he ſaid, will tell you, that our earth
"is a plane figure ſtudded with eight moun-
"tains, and ſurrounded by ſeven ſeas of milk,
"nectar, and other fluids; that the part which
"we inhabit, is one of ſeven iſlands, to which
"eleven ſmaller iſles are ſubordinate; that a
"God, riding on a huge *elephant*, guards each
"of the eight regions; and that a mountain of

 "gold

"gold riſes and gleams in the centre; but we "believe the earth to be ſhaped like a *Cadamba* "fruit, or ſpheroidal, and admit only four "oceans of ſalt water, all which we name from "the four cardinal points, and in which are "many great peninſulas with innumerable "iſlands: they will tell you, that a dragon's "head ſwallows the moon, and thus cauſes an "eclipſe; but we know, that the ſuppoſed "head and tail of the dragon mean only the "nodes, or points formed by interſections of the "ecliptick and the moon's orbit; in ſhort, "they have imagined a ſyſtem which exiſts "only in their fancy; but we conſider nothing "as true without ſuch evidence as cannot be "queſtioned." I could not perfectly underſtand the old Gymnoſophiſt, when he told me, that the *Ráſichacra*, or *Circle of Signs* (for ſo he called the Zodiack), was like a *Dhuſtúra* flower; meaning the *Datura*, to which the *Sanſcrit* name has been ſoftened, and the flower of which is conical, or ſhaped like a funnel: at firſt I thought, that he alluded to a projection of the hemiſphere on the plane of the colure, and to the angle formed by the ecliptick and equator; but a younger aſtronomer named VINA'YACA, who came afterwards to ſee me, aſſured me that they meant only the circular mouth of the funnel, or the baſe of the cone, and that it

was

was usual among their ancient writers to borrow from fruits and flowers their appellations of several plane and solid figures.

FROM the two *Bráhmans* whom I have just named, I learned the following curious particulars; and you may depend on my accuracy in repeating them, since I wrote them in their presence, and corrected what I had written, till they pronounced it perfect.

THEY divide a great circle, as we do, into three hundred and sixty degrees, called by them *ansas* or portions; of which they, like us, allot thirty to each of the twelve signs in this order:

Mésha, the Ram.	*Tulà*, the Balance.
Vrisha, the Bull.	8. *Vrishchica*, the Scorpion.
Mit'huna, the Pair.	*Dhanus*, the Bow.
4. *Carcata*, the Crab.	*Macara*, the Sea-Monster.
Sinha, the Lion.	*Cumbha*, the Ewer.
Canyà, the Virgin.	12. *Mína*, the Fish.

THE figures of the twelve asterisms, thus denominated with respect to the sun, are specified by SRI'PETI, author of the *Retnamálà*, in *Sanscrit* verses; which I produce, as my vouchers, in the original, with a verbal translation:

Méshádayó náma samánarúpì,
Vínágadádhyam mit'hunam nriyugmam,
Pradípasasyé dadhatí carábhyám
Návi st'hitâ várini canyacaiva.
Tulá tulábhrit pretimánapánir
Dhanur dhanushmán hayawat parángah,

 Mrigánanah

Mrigánanah syán macaró't'ha cumbhah
Scandhé neró ricṭagha'tam dadhánah,
Anyanyapuchch'hábhimuc'hó hi mínah
Matsyadwayam ſwast'halachárinómì.

"THE *ram*, *bull*, *crab*, *lion*, and *ſcorpion*, "have the figures of thoſe five animals reſpec- "tively: the *pair* are a damſel playing on a "*Vìnà* and a youth wielding a mace: the *vir-* "*gin* ſtands on a boat in water, holding in one "hand a lamp, in the other an ear of ricecorn: "the *balance* is held by a weigher with a "weight in one hand: the *bow*, by an archer, "whoſe hinder parts are like thoſe of a horſe: "the *ſea-monſter* has the face of an antelope: "the *ewer* is a waterpot borne on the ſhoulder "of a man, who empties it: the *fiſh* are two, "with their heads turned to each other's tails; "and all theſe are ſuppoſed to be in ſuch places "as ſuit their ſeveral natures."

To each of the *twenty-ſeven* lunar ſtations, which they call *nacſhatras*, they allow thirteen *anſas* and one third, or *thirteen degrees twenty minutes*; and their names appear in the order of the ſigns, but without any regard to the figures of them:

Aswinì.	A'rdrà.	Púrva p'halgunì.
Bharanì.	Punarvaſu.	Uttara *p'halgunì.*
Criticà.	*Puſhya.*	Haſta.
Róhiní.	9. Asléſhà.	*Chitrà.*
Mrìgaſiras.	*Maghà.*	Swátì.

Viſác'hà

Visác'hà.	Púrv*asha'dhá.*	Satabhishà.
Anurádhà.	Uttaráshádhà.	Púrva *bhadrapadá.*
18. *Jyésht'hà*	*Sravanà.*	Uttarabhadrapadá.
Múla.	Dhanishtà.	27. Révatì.

Between the twenty-first and twenty-second constellations, we find in the plate three stars called *Abhijit*; but they are the last quarter of the asterism immediately preceding, or the latter *Ashár*, as the word is commonly pronounced. A complete revolution of the moon, with respect to the stars, being made in twenty-seven days, odd hours, minutes, and seconds, and perfect exactness being either not attained by the *Hindus*, or not required by them, they fixed on the number twenty-seven, and inserted *Abhijit* for some astrological purpose in their nuptial ceremonies. The drawing, from which the plate was engraved *, seems intended to represent the figures of the twenty-seven constellations, together with *Abhijit*, as they are described in three stanzas by the author of the *Retnamálá*:

1. Turagamuc'hasadricsham yónirúpam cshurábham,
Saca'tasamam at'hainasyóttamángéna tulyam,
Manigrihasara chacrábháni sálópamam bham,
Sayanasadrisamanyachchátra paryancarúpam.
2. Hastácárayutam cha maucticasamam
chányat praválópamam,
Dhrishyam tórana sannibham balinibham,
satcundalábham param;

* The different compartments of the plate alluded to, are so nminutely described in the subsequent page, that it is thought unnecessary to annex it.

Crudhyatcésarivicraména sadrisam,
sayyásamánam param,
Anyad dentivilásavat st'hitamatah
sringátacavyacti bham.
3. Trivicramábham cha mridangarúpam,
Vrittam tatónyadyamalábhwayábham,
Paryancarúpam murajánucáram,
Ityévam aswádibhachacrarúpam.

"A HORSE's head; *yóni* or *bhaga*; a razor; "a wheeled carriage; the head of an antelope; "a gem; a house; an arrow; a wheel; an-"other house; a bedstead; another bedstead; "a hand; a pearl; a piece of coral; a fes-"toon of leaves; an oblation to the Gods; a "rich ear-ring; the tail of a fierce lion; a "couch; the tooth of a wanton elephant, "near which is the kernel of the *sringátaca* "nut; the three footsteps of VISHNU; a ta-"bor; a circular jewel; a two-faced image; "another couch; and a smaller sort of tabor: "such are the figures of *Aswinì* and the rest in "the circle of lunar constellations."

THE *Hindu* draughtsman has very ill repre-sented most of the figures; and he has trans-posed the two *Ashàras* as well as the two *Bha-drapads*; but his figure of *Abhijit*, which looks like our ace of hearts, has a resemblance to the kernel of the *trapa*, a curious water-plant de-scribed in a separate essay. In another *Sanscrit* book the figures of the same constellations are thus varied:

A horse's

A horſe's head.	A ſtraight tail.	A conch.
Yóni or *bhaga.*	Two ſtars S. to N.	A winnowing fan.
A flame.	Two, N. to S.	Another.
A waggon.	A hand.	An arrow.
A cat's paw.	A pearl.	A tabor.
One bright ſtar.	Red ſaffron.	A circle of ſtars.
A bow.	A feſtoon.	A ſtaff for burdens.
A child's pencil.	A ſnake.	The beam of a balance.
9. A dog's tail.	18. A boar's head.	27. A fiſh.

From twelve of the aſteriſms juſt enumerated are derived the names of the twelve *Indian* months in the uſual form of patronymicks; for the *Pauránics*, who reduce all nature to a ſyſtem of emblematical mythology, ſuppoſe a celeſtial nymph to preſide over each of the conſtellations, and feign that the God So'ma, or *Lunus*, having wedded twelve of them, became the father of twelve *Genii*, or months, who are named after their ſeveral mothers; but the *Jyautiſhicas* aſſert, that, when their lunar year was arranged by former aſtronomers, the moon was at the full in each month on the very day when it entered the *nacſhatra*, from which that month is denominated. The manner in which the derivatives are formed, will beſt appear by a compariſon of the months with their ſeveral conſtellations:

A'swina.	4. Pauſha.
Cártica.	Mágha.
Márgasírſha.	P'hálguna.
	Chaitra.

Chaitra.	A'ſhára.
8. Vaiſác'ha.	Srávana.
Jyaiſht'ha.	12. Bhádra.

THE third month is alſo called *A'grabáyana* (whence the common word *Agran* is corrupted) from another name of *Mrigasiras*.

NOTHING can be more ingenious than the memorial verſes, in which the *Hindus* have a cuſtom of linking together a number of ideas otherwiſe unconnected, and of chaining, as it were, the memory by a regular meaſure: thus by putting *teeth* for thirty-two, *Rudra* for eleven, *ſeaſon* for ſix, *arrow* or *element* for five, *ocean*, *Véda*, or *age*, for four, RA'MA, *fire*, or *quality*, for three, *eye*, or CUMA'RA, for two, and *earth* or *moon* for one, they have compoſed four lines, which expreſs the number of ſtars in each of the twenty-ſeven aſteriſms:

Vahni tri ritwiſhu gunéndu critágnibhúta,
Bánáswinétra sara bhúcu'yugábdhirámáh,
Rudrábdhirámagunavédasatá dwiyugma,
Dentá budhairábhihitáh cramasó bhatáráh.

THAT is: "three, three, ſix; five, three, "one; four, three, five; five, two, two; "five, one, one; four, four, three; eleven, "four and three; three, four, a hundred; two, "two, thirty-two: thus have the ſtars of the "lunar conſtellations, in order as they appear, "been numbered by the wiſe."

If the ſtanza was correctly repeated to me, the *two Aſhárás* are conſidered as one aſteriſm, and *Abhijit* as three ſeparate ſtars; but I ſuſpect an error in the third line, becauſe *dwibána*, or *two* and *five*, would ſuit the metre as well as *báhiráma*; and becauſe there were only three *Véda's* in the early age, when, it is probable, the ſtars were enumerated and the technical verſe compoſed.

Two lunar ſtations, or *manſions*, and a quarter are co-extenſive, we ſee, with one ſign; and nine ſtations correſpond with four ſigns: by counting, therefore, thirteen degrees and twenty minutes from the firſt ſtar in the head of the Ram, incluſively, we find the whole extent of *Aſwinì*, and ſhall be able to aſcertain the other ſtars with ſufficient accuracy: but firſt let us exhibit a comparative table of both *Zodiacks*, denoting the manſions, as in the *Váránes* almanack, by the firſt letters or ſyllables of their names:

MONTHS.

Months.	Solar Asterisms.	Mansions.
A'ſwin	Méſh	$A + bh + \frac{c}{4}$
Cártic	Vriſh	$\frac{3c}{4} + rò + \frac{M}{2}$
A'graháyan	Mit'hun	$\frac{M}{2} + á + \frac{3P}{4}$
Pauſh	Carcát 4.	$\frac{P}{4} + p +$ sl. 9.
Mágh	Sinh	$m + PU + \frac{U}{4}$
P'hálgun	Canyà	$\frac{3U}{4} + h + \frac{ch}{2}$
Chaitr	Tulà	$\frac{ch}{2} + s + \frac{3v}{4}$
Vaiſác'h	Vriſchic 8.	$\frac{v}{4} + a +$ j 18.
Jaiſh't'h	Dhan	$mú + pù + \frac{u}{4}$
A'ſhár	Macar	$\frac{3u}{4} + S + \frac{dh}{2}$
Srávan	Cumbh	$\frac{dh}{2} + s + \frac{3pú}{4}$
Bhádr	Mín 12.	$\frac{pú}{4} + u +$ r. 27.

Hence we may readily know the ſtars in each manſion, as they follow in order :

Lunar Mansions.	Solar Asterisms.	Stars.
Aſwiní.	Ram.	*Three*, in and near the head.
Bharaní.	——	*Three*, in the tail.
Criticà,	Bull.	*Six*, of the Pleiads.
Róhiní.	——	*Five*, in the head and neck.
Mrigaſiras.	Pair.	*Three*, in or near the feet, perhaps in the Galaxy.
A'rdra.	——	*One*, on the knee.

Lunar

LUNAR MANSIONS.	SOLAR ASTERISMS.	STARS.
Punarvasu.	——	*Four*, in the heads, breast, and shoulder.
Pushya.	Crab	*Three*, in the body and claws.
Asléshà.	Lion	*Five*, in the face and mane.
Maghà.	——	*Five*, in the leg and haunch.
Púrvap'halguni.	——	*Two*; one in the tail.
Uttarap'halgunì.	Virgin	*Two*, on the arm and zone.
Hasta.	——	*Five*, near the hand.
Chitrà.	——	*One*, in the spike.
Swáti.	Balance	*One*, in the N. Scale.
Visác'hà.	——	*Four*, beyond it.
Anurádhà.	Scorpion	*Four*, in the body.
Jyésht'hà.	——	*Three*, in the tail.
Múla.	Bow	*Eleven*, to the point of the arrow.
Púrváshára.	——	*Two*, in the leg.
Uttaráshára.	Sea-monster.	*Two*, in the horn.
Sravanà.	——	*Three*, in the tail.
Dhanisht'à.	Ewer	*Four*, in the arm.
Satabhishà.	——	*Many*, in the stream.
Púrvabhadrapadà.	Fish	*Two*, in the first fish.
Uttarabhadrapadà.	——	*Two*, in the cord.
Révatì.	——	*Thirty-two*, in the second fish and cord.

WHEREVER the *Indian* drawing differs from the memorial verse in the *Retnamálà*, I have preferred the authority of the writer to that of the painter, who has drawn some terrestrial things with so little similitude, that we must not implicitly rely on his representation of objects merely celestial: he seems particularly to have erred in the stars of *Dhanisht'à*.

FOR

For the aſſiſtance of thoſe who may be inclined to re-examine the twenty-ſeven conſtellations with a chart before them, I ſubjoin a table of the degrees to which the *nacſhatras* extend reſpectively, from the firſt ſtar in the aſteriſm of *Aries*, which we now ſee near the beginning of the ſign *Taurus*, as it was placed in the ancient ſphere.

N.	D.	M.	N.	D.	M.	N.	D.	M.
I.	13°.	20′.	X.	133°.	20′	XIX.	253°.	20′.
II.	26°.	40′.	XI.	146°.	40′.	XX.	266°.	40′.
III.	40°.	0′.	XII.	160°.	0′.	XXI.	280°.	0′.
IV.	53°.	20′.	XIII.	173°.	20′.	XXII.	293°.	20′.
V.	66°.	40′.	XIV.	186°.	40′.	XXIII.	306°.	40′.
VI.	80°.	0′.	XV.	200°.	0′.	XXIV.	320°.	0′.
VII.	93°.	20′.	XVI.	213°.	20′.	XXV.	333°.	20′.
VIII.	106°.	40′.	XVII.	226°.	40′.	XXVI.	346°.	40′.
IX.	120°.	0′	XVIII.	240°.	0′.	XXVII.	360°.	0′.

The aſteriſms of the *firſt* column are in the ſigns of *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Cancer*, *Leo*; thoſe of the *ſecond*, in *Virgo*, *Libra*, *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*; and thoſe of the *third*, in *Capricornus*, *Aquarius*, *Piſces*, *Aries*: we cannot err much, therefore, in any ſeries of *three* conſtellations; for, by counting 13° 20′ forwards and backwards, we find the ſpaces occupied by the two extremes, and the intermediate ſpace belongs of courſe to the middle-moſt. It is not meaned, that the diviſion of the *Hindu* Zodiack into ſuch ſpaces is exact to a minute, or that *every* ſtar of each aſteriſm muſt neceſſarily be

found

found in the ſpace to which it belongs; but the computation will be accurate enough for our purpoſe, and no lunar manſion can be very remote from the path of the moon: how Father SOUCIET could dream, that *Viſác'hà* was in the Northern Crown, I can hardly comprehend; but it ſurpaſſes all comprehenſion, that M. BAILLY ſhould copy his dream, and give reaſons to ſupport it; eſpecially as four ſtars, arranged pretty much like thoſe in the *Indian* figure, preſent themſelves obviouſly near *the Balance* or *the Scorpion*. I have not the boldneſs to exhibit the individual ſtars in each manſion, diſtinguiſhed in BAYER's method by *Greek* letters; becauſe, though I have little doubt, that the five ſtars of *Aſléſhà*, in the form of a wheel, are η, γ, ζ, μ, ε, of *the Lion*, and thoſe of *Múla*, γ, ε, δ, ζ, φ, τ, σ, ν, ο, ξ, π, of *the Sagittary*, and though I think many of the others equally clear, yet, where the number of ſtars in a manſion is leſs than three, or even than four, it is not eaſy to fix on them with confidence; and I muſt wait, until ſome young *Hindu* aſtronomer, with a good memory and good eyes, can attend my leiſure on ſerene nights at the proper ſeaſons, to point out in the firmament itſelf the ſeveral ſtars of all the conſtellations, for which he can find names in the *Sanſcrit* language: the only ſtars, except thoſe in the *Zodiack*,

Zodiack, that have yet been diſtinctly named to me, are the *Septarſhi*, *Dhruva*, *Arundhatì*, *Viſhnupad*, *Mátrimandel*, and, in the ſouthern hemiſphere, *Agaſtya*, or *Canopus*. The twenty-ſeven *Yóga* ſtars, indeed, have particular names, in the order of the *nacſhatras*, to which they belong: and ſince we learn, that the *Hindus* have determined *the latitude, longitude, and right aſcenſion of each*, it might be uſeful to exhibit the liſt of them; but at preſent I can only ſubjoin the names of twenty-ſeven *Yógas*, or diviſions of the Ecliptick.

Viſhcambha.	*Ganda.*	*Parigha.*
Príti.	*Vriddhi.*	*Siva.*
A'yuſhmat.	*Dhruva.*	*Siddha.*
Saubhágya.	*Vyághàta.*	*Sádhya.*
Sóbhana.	*Herſhana.*	*Subha.*
Atiganda.	*Vajra.*	*Sucra.*
Sucarman.	*Aſrij.*	*Brahman.*
Dhriti.	*Vyatipáta.*	*Indra.*
Súla.	*Varíyas.*	*Vaidhriti.*

HAVING ſhown in what manner the *Hindus* arrange the *Zodiacal* ſtars with reſpect to the ſun and moon, let us proceed to our principal ſubject, *the antiquity of that double arrangement*. In the firſt place, the *Bráhmans* were always too proud to borrow their ſcience from the *Greeks*, *Arabs*, *Moguls*, or any nation of *Mléchch'has*,

as they call thoſe who are ignorant of the *Védas*, and have not ſtudied the language of the Gods: they have often repeated to me the fragment of an old verſe, which they now uſe proverbially, *na nícbò yavanátparah*, or *no baſe creature can be lower than a Yavan*; by which name they formerly meant an *Ionian* or *Greek*, and now mean a *Mogul*, or, generally, a *Muſelman*. When I mentioned to different *Pandits*, at ſeveral times and in ſeveral places, the opinion of MONTUÇLA, they could not prevail on themſelves to oppoſe it by ſerious argument; but ſome laughed heartily; others, with a ſarcaſtick ſmile, ſaid it was a *pleaſant imagination*; and all ſeemed to think it a notion bordering on phrenſy. In fact, although the figures of the twelve *Indian* Signs bear a wonderful reſemblance to thoſe of the *Grecian*, yet they are too much varied for a mere copy, and the nature of the variation proves them to be original: nor is the reſemblance more extraordinary than that which has often been obſerved between our *Gothick* days of the week and thoſe of the *Hindus*, which are dedicated to the ſame luminaries, and (what is yet more ſingular) revolve in the ſame order: *Ravi*, the Sun; *Sóma*, the Moon; *Mangala*, Tuiſco; *Budha*, Woden; *Vrihaspati*, Thor; *Sucra*, Freya; *Sani*, Sater; yet no man ever imagined, that the

 Indians

Indians borrowed ſo remarkable an arrangement from the *Goths* or *Germans*. On the planets I will only obſerve, that SUCRA, the regent of *Venus*, is, like all the reſt, a *male* deity, named alſo USANAS, and believed to be a ſage of infinite learning; but ZOHRAH, the NA'HI'D of the *Perſians*, is a goddeſs like the FREYA of our *Saxon* progenitors: the drawing, therefore, of the planets which was brought into *Bengal* by Mr. JOHNSON, relates to the *Perſian* ſyſtem, and repreſents the Genii ſuppoſed to preſide over them, exactly as they are deſcribed by the poet HA'TIFI': "He bedecked the firmament "with ſtars, and ennobled this earth with the "race of men; he gently turned the auſpi-"cious new moon of the feſtival, like a bright "jewel, round the ancle of the ſky; he placed "the *Hindu* SATURN on the ſeat of that reſtive "elephant, the revolving ſphere, and put the "rainbow into his hand, as a hook to coerce "the intoxicated beaſt; he made ſilken ſtrings "of ſun-beams for the lute of VENUS; and "preſented JUPITER, who ſaw the felicity of "true religion, with a roſary of cluſtering "Pleiads. The bow of the ſky became that "of MARS, when he was honoured with the "command of the celeſtial hoſt; for GOD "conferred ſovereignty on the Sun, and ſqua-"drons of ſtars were his army."

THE

THE names and forms of the lunar conſtellations, eſpecially of *Bharanì* and *Abhijit*, indicate a ſimplicity of manners peculiar to an ancient people; and they differ entirely from thoſe of the *Arabian* ſyſtem, in which the very firſt aſteriſm appears in the dual number, becauſe it conſiſts only of two ſtars. *Menzil*, or *the place of alighting*, properly ſignifies a *ſtation* or *ſtage*, and thence is uſed for an ordinary day's *journey*; and that idea ſeems better applied than *manſion* to ſo inceſſant a traveller as the Moon. The *menázilu'l kamar*, or *lunar ſtages*, of the *Arabs* have *twenty-eight* names in the following order, the particle *al* being underſtood before every word:

Sharatàn.	Nathrah.	Ghafr.	Dhâbih.
Bu'tain.	Tarf.	Zubáníyah.	Bulaâ.
Thurayyà.	Jabhah.	Iclìl.	Suûd.
Debaràn.	Zubrah.	Kalb.	Akhbíya.
Hakâah.	Sarfah.	Shaulah.	Mukdim.
Hanâah.	Awwà.	Naâïm.	Múkhir.
7. Dhirââ.	14. Simàc.	21. Beldah.	28. Riſhà.

Now, if we can truſt the *Arabian* lexicographers, the number of ſtars in their ſeveral *menzils* rarely agrees with thoſe of the *Indians*; and two ſuch nations muſt naturally have obſerved, and might naturally have named, the principal ſtars, near which the moon paſſes in the courſe of each day, without any communi-

cation on the ſubject: there is no evidence, indeed, of a communication between the *Hindus* and *Arabs* on any ſubject of literature or ſcience; for though we have reaſon to believe, that a commercial intercourſe ſubſiſted in very early times between *Yemen* and the weſtern coaſt of *India*, yet the *Bráhmans*, who alone are permitted to read the ſix *Védángas*, one of which is the aſtronomical *Sáſtra*, were not then commercial, and, moſt probably, neither could nor would have converſed with *Arabian* merchants. The hoſtile irruption of the *Arabs* into *Hinduſtán*, in the eighth century, and that of the *Moguls* under CHENGI'Z, in the thirteenth, were not likely to change the aſtronomical ſyſtem of the *Hindus*: but the ſuppoſed conſequences of *modern* revolutions are out of the queſtion; for, if any hiſtorical records be true, we know with as poſitive certainty, that AMARSINH and CA'LIDA'S compoſed their works before the birth of CHRIST, as that MENANDER and TERENCE wrote before that important epoch: now the twelve *ſigns* and twenty-ſeven *manſions* are mentioned, by the ſeveral names before exhibited, in a *Sanſcrit* vocabulary by the firſt of thoſe *Indian* authors, and the ſecond of them frequently alludes to *Róhinì* and the reſt by name in his *Fatal Ring*, his *Children of the Sun*, and his *Birth of* CUMA'RA; from which poem

I pro-

I produce two lines, that my evidence may not ſeem to be collected from mere converſation:

> Maitrè muhúrtè sasalánch'hanéna,
> Yógam gatáſúttarap'halganíſhu.

"When the ſtars of *Uttarap'halgun* had "joined in a fortunate hour the faun-ſpotted "moon."

THIS teſtimony being deciſive againſt the conjecture of M. MONTUCLA, I need not urge the great antiquity of MENU's Inſtitutes, in which the twenty-ſeven aſteriſms are called the daughters of DACSHA and the conſorts of SO'MA, or the Moon, nor rely on the teſtimony of the *Bráhmans*, who aſſure me with one voice, that the names of the *Zodiacal* ſtars occur in the *Védas*; three of which I firmly believe, from internal and external evidence, to be more than *three thouſand* years old.

HAVING therefore proved what I engaged to prove, I will cloſe my eſſay with a general obſervation. The reſult of NEWTON's reſearches into the hiſtory of the primitive ſphere was, "that "the practice of obſerving the ſtars began in "*Egypt* in the days of AMMON, and was "propagated thence by conqueſt in the reign "of his ſon SISAC, into *Afric*, *Europe* and "*Aſia*; ſince which time ATLAS formed the

"ſphere of the *Lybians*; CHIRON that of the "*Greeks*; and the *Chaldeans* a ſphere of their "own." Now I hope, on ſome other occaſions, to ſatisfy the publick, as I have perfectly ſatisfied myſelf, that "the practice of "obſerving the ſtars began, with the rudi- "ments of civil ſociety, in the country of "thoſe whom we call *Chaldeans*; from which "it was propagated into *Egypt*, *India*, *Greece*, "*Italy*, and *Scandinavia*, before the reign of "SISAC or SA'CYA, who by conqueſt ſpread a "new ſyſtem of religion and philoſophy from "the *Nile* to the *Ganges*, about a thouſand "years before CHRIST; but that CHIRON and "ATLAS were allegorical or mythological "perſonages, and ought to have no place in "the ſerious hiſtory of our ſpecies."

DIS-

DISSERTATION XIV.

THE

DESIGN OF A TREATISE

ON THE

PLANTS OF INDIA.

THE greateſt, if not the only, obſtacle to the progreſs of knowledge in theſe provinces, except in thoſe branches of it which belong immediately to our ſeveral profeſſions, is our want of leiſure for general reſearches; and, as ARCHIMEDES, who was happily maſter of his time, had not ſpace enough to move the greateſt weight with the ſmalleſt force, thus we, who have ample ſpace for our inquiries, really want *time* for the purſuit of them. "Give me a place to ſtand on, ſaid the great "mathematician, and I will move the whole "earth:" *Give us time*, we may ſay, *for our inveſtigations, and we will transfer to* Europe *all the ſciences, arts, and literature of* Aſia. "Not to have deſpaired," however, was

 thought

thought a degree of merit in the *Roman* general, even though he was defeated; and, having ſome hope, that others may occaſionally find more leiſure, than it will ever, at leaſt in this country, be my lot to enjoy, I take the liberty to propoſe a work, from which very curious information, and poſſibly very ſolid advantage, may be derived.

SOME hundreds of plants, which are yet imperfectly known to *European* botaniſts, and with the virtues of which they are wholly unacquainted, grow wild on the plains and in the foreſts of *India*: the *Amarcòſh*, an excellent vocabulary of the *Sanſcrit* language, contains in one chapter the names of about three hundred medicinal vegetables; the *Médinì* may compriſe many more; and the *Dravyábhidhána*, or *Dictionary of Natural Productions*, includes, I believe, a far greater number; the properties of which are diſtinctly related in medical tracts of approved authority. Now the firſt ſtep, in compiling a treatiſe on the plants of *India*, ſhould be to write their true names in *Roman* letters, according to the moſt accurate orthography, and in *Sanſcrit* preferably to any vulgar dialect; becauſe a learned language is fixed in books, while popular idioms are in conſtant fluctuation, and will not, perhaps, be underſtood a century hence by the inhabitants of

 theſe

theſe *Indian* territories, whom future botaniſts may conſult on the common appellations of trees and flowers. The childiſh denominations of plants from the perſons who firſt deſcribed them, ought wholly to be rejected; for *Champaca* and *Hinna* ſeem to me not only more elegant, but far properer, deſignations of an *Indian* and an *Arabian* plant, than *Michelia* and *Lawſonia*; nor can I ſee without pain, that the great *Swediſh* botaniſt conſidered it as *the ſupreme and only reward of labour* in this part of natural hiſtory, to preſerve a name by hanging it on a bloſſom, and that he declared this mode of promoting and adorning botany worthy of being *continued with holy reverence*; though ſo high an honour, he ſays, *ought to be conferred with chaſte reſerve, and not proſtituted for the purpoſe of conciliating the good will, or eternizing the memory, of any but his choſen followers; no, not even of ſaints.* His liſt of *an hundred and fifty* ſuch names clearly ſhews, that his excellent works are the true baſis of his juſt celebrity, which would have been feebly ſupported by the ſtalk of the *Linnæa*. From what proper name the *Plantain* is called *Muſa*, I do not know; but it ſeems to be the *Dutch* pronunciation of the *Arabick* word for that vegetable, and ought not, therefore, to have appeared in his liſt, though, in my opinion,

nion, it is the only rational name in the mufter-roll. As to the fyftem of LINNÆUS, it is the fyftem of Nature, fubordinate indeed to the beautiful arrangement of *natural orders*, of which he has given a rough fketch, and which may hereafter, perhaps, be completed: but the diftribution of vegetables into *claffes*, according to the number, length, and pofition of the ftamens and piftils, and of thofe *claffes* into *kinds* and *fpecies*, according to certain marks of difcrimination, will ever be found the cleareft and moft convenient of methods, and fhould therefore be ftudioufly obferved in the work which I now fuggeft. But I muft be forgiven, if I propofe to reject the *Linnæan* appellations of the twenty-four *claffes*, becaufe, although they appear to be *Greek* (and, if they really were fo, that alone might be thought a fufficient objection), yet in truth they are not *Greek*, nor even formed by analogy to the language of *Grecians*; for *Polygamos*, *Monandros*, and the reft of that form, are both mafculine and feminine; *Polyandria*, in the abftract, never occurs, and *Polyandrion* means a publick cemetery; *Diœcia* and *Diœcus* are not found in books of authority; nor, if they were, would they be derived from *dis*, but from *dia*, which would include the *Triœcia*: let me add, that the *twelfth* and *thirteenth* claffes are ill diftinguifhed by

their

their appellations, independently of other exceptions to them, ſince the real diſtinction between them conſiſts not ſo much in the number of their ſtamens, as in the *place* where they are inſerted; and that the *fourteenth* and *fifteenth* are not more accurately diſcriminated by two words formed in defiance of grammatical analogy, ſince there are but *two* powers, or two *diverſities of length*, in each of thoſe claſſes. *Calycopolyandros* might, perhaps, not inaccurately denote a flower of the *twelfth* claſs; but ſuch a compound would ſtill ſavour of barbariſm or pedantry; and the beſt way to amend ſuch a ſyſtem of words is to efface it, and ſupply its place by a more ſimple nomenclature, which may eaſily be found. Numerals may be uſed for the *eleven* firſt claſſes, the former of two numbers being always appropriated to the *ſtamens*, and the latter to the *piſtils*: ſhort phraſes, as, *on the calyx* or *calice*, *in the receptacle*, *two long*, *four long*, *from one baſe*, *from two*, or *many*, *baſes*, *with anthers connected*, *on the piſtils*, *in two flowers*, *in two diſtinct plants*, *mixed*, *concealed*, or the like, will anſwer every purpoſe of diſcrimination; but I do not offer this as a perfect ſubſtitute for the words which I condemn. The allegory of *ſexes* and *nuptials*, even if it were complete, ought, I think, to be diſcarded, as unbecoming the gravity of

men,

men, who, while they ſearch for truth, have no buſineſs to inflame their imaginations; and, while they profeſs to give deſcriptions, have nothing to do with metaphors: few paſſages in *Aloiſia*, the moſt impudent book ever compoſed by man, are more wantonly indecent than the hundred-forty-ſixth number of the *Botanical Philoſophy*, and the broad comment of its grave author, who *dares*, like OCTAVIUS in his epigram, *to ſpeak with* Roman *ſimplicity*; nor can the *Linnæan* deſcription of the *Arum*, and many other plants, be read in *Engliſh* without exciting ideas, which the occaſion does not require. Hence it is, that no well-born and well-educated woman can be adviſed to amuſe herſelf with botany, as it is now explained, though a more elegant and delightful ſtudy, or one more likely to aſſiſt and embelliſh other female accompliſhments, could not poſſibly be recommended.

WHEN the *Sanſcrit* names of the *Indian* plants have been correctly written in a large paper-book, one page being appropriated to each, the freſh plants themſelves, procured in their reſpective ſeaſons, muſt be conciſely, but accurately, *claſſed* and *deſcribed*; after which their ſeveral uſes in medicine, diet, or manufactures, may be collected, with the aſſiſtance of *Hindu* phyſicians, from the medical books in

Sanſcrit,

Sanſcrit, and their accounts either diſproved or eſtabliſhed by repeated experiments, as faſt as they can be made with exactneſs.

By way of example, I annex the deſcriptions of five *Indian* plants, but am unable, at this ſeaſon, to re-examine them, and wholly deſpair of leiſure to exhibit others, of which I have collected the names, and moſt of which I have ſeen in bloſſom.

I. MUCHUCUNDA.

Twenty, from One Baſe.

Cal. Five-parted, thick; leaflets, oblong.
Cor. Five petals, oblong.
Stam. From twelve to fifteen, rather long, fertile; five ſhorter, ſterile. In ſome flowers, the *unprolifick* ſtamens, longer.
Piſt. *Style* cylindrick.
Peric. A capſule, with five cells, many-ſeeded.
Seeds: Roundiſh, compreſſed, winged.
Leaves: Of many different ſhapes.
Uſes: The quality, refrigerant.

One flower, ſteeped a whole night in a glaſs of water, forms a cooling mucilage of uſe in virulent gonorrhœas. The *Muchucunda*, called alſo *Pichuca*, is exquiſitely fragrant: its calyx is covered with an odoriferous duſt; and the dried

dried flowers in fine powder, taken like ſnuff, are ſaid, in a *Sanſcrit* book, almoſt inſtantaneouſly to remove a nervous head-ach.

Note, This plant differs a little from the *Pentapetes* of LINNÆUS.

II. BILVA OR MA'LU'RA.

Many on the Receptacle, and One.

Cal. Four, or five, cleft, beneath.

Cor. Four, or five, petals; moſtly reflex.

Stam. Forty, to forty-eight, filaments; anthers, moſtly erect.

Piſt. *Germ*, roundiſh; *Style*, ſmooth, ſhort; *Stigma*, clubbed.

Peric. A ſpheroidal berry, very large; many-ſeeded.

Seeds: Toward the ſurface, ovate, in a pellucid mucus.

Leaves: Ternate; common petiole, long; leaflets, ſubovate; obtuſely notched, with ſhort petioles; ſome almoſt lanced.

Stem: Armed with ſharp thorns.

Uſes: The fruit nutritious, warm, cathartick; in taſte, delicious; in fragrance, exquiſite: its aperient and deterſive quality, and its efficacy in removing habitual coſtiveneſs, have been proved by conſtant experience. The mucus of the ſeed is, for ſome purpoſes, a very good cement.

Note.

Note, This fruit is called *Srîp'hala*, becauſe it ſprang, ſay the *Indian* poets, from the milk of *Srì*, the goddeſs of abundance, who beſtowed it on mankind at the requeſt of ISWARA, whence he alone wears a chaplet of *Bilva* flowers; to him only the *Hindus* offer them; and, when they ſee any of them fallen on the ground, they take them up with reverence, and carry them to his temple. From the firſt bloſſom of this plant that I could inſpect, I had imagined that it belonged to the ſame claſs with the *Durio*, becauſe the filaments appeared to be diſtributed in five ſets; but in all that I have ſince examined, they are perfectly diſtinct.

III. SRINGA'TACA.

Four and One.

Cal. Four-cleft, with a long peduncle, above.

Cor. Four petals.

Stam. Anthers, kidney-ſhaped.

Piſt. *Germ*, roundiſh; *Style*, long as the filaments; *Stigma*, clubbed.

Seed: A *Nut* with four oppoſite angles (two of them *ſharp* thorns) formed by the *Calyx*.

Leaves: Thoſe which float on the water, are rhomboïdal; the two upper ſides unequally notched; the two lower, right lines. Their petioles,

petioles, buoyed up by ſpindle-ſhaped ſpongy ſubſtances, not bladders.

Root: Knotty, like coral.

Uſes: The freſh kernel, in ſweetneſs and delicacy, equals that of the filberd. A mucus, ſecreted by minute glands, covers the wet leaves, which are conſidered as cooling.

Note, It ſeems to be the floating *Trapa* of LINNÆUS.

IV. PU'TICARAJA.

Ten and One.

Cal. Five-cleft.

Cor. Five equal petals.

Peric. A thorny legumen; two ſeeds.

Leaves: Oval, pinnated.

Stem: Armed.

Uſes: The ſeeds are very bitter, and, perhaps, tonick; ſince one of them bruiſed and given in two doſes, will, as the *Hindus* aſſert, cure an intermittent fever.

V. MADHU'CA.

Many, *not* on the Receptacle, and One.

Cal. *Perianth* four, or five, leaved.

Cor. One-petaled. *Tube* inflated, fleſhy. *Border* nine, or ten, parted.

Stam.

Stam. *Anthers* from twelve to twenty-eight, erect, acute, ſubvillous.

Piſt. *Germ*, roundiſh; *Style*, long, awl-ſhaped.

Peric. A *Drupe*, with two or three *Nuts*.

Leaves: Oval, ſomewhat pointed.

Uſes: The tubes, eſculent, nutritious; yielding, by diſtillation, an inebriating ſpirit, which, if the ſale of it were duly reſtrained by law, might be applied to good purpoſes. A uſeful oil is expreſſed from the ſeed.

Note, It reſembles the *Baſſia* of KOENIG.

SUCH would be the method of the work which I recommend; but even the ſpecimen which I exhibit might, in ſkilful hands, have been more accurate. Engravings of the plants may be annexed; but I have more than once experienced, that the beſt anatomical and botanical prints give a very inadequate, and ſometimes a very falſe, notion of the objects which they were intended to repreſent. As we learn a new language, by reading approved compoſitions in it with the aid of a Grammar and Dictionary, ſo we can only ſtudy with effect the natural hiſtory of vegetables by analyſing the plants themſelves with the *Philoſophia Botanica*, which is the *Grammar*, and the *Genera et Species Plantarum*, which may be conſidered as the *Dictionary*, of that beautiful language,

in which nature would teach us what plants we muſt avoid as noxious, and what we muſt cultivate as ſalutary; for that the qualities of plants are *in ſome degree* connected with the *natural orders* and *claſſes* of them, a number of inſtances would abundantly prove.

DIS-

DISSERTATION XV.

ON THE SPIKENARD OF THE ANCIENTS.

IT is painful to meet perpetually with words that convey no diſtinct ideas: and a natural deſire of avoiding that pain excites us often to make inquiries, the reſult of which can have no other uſe than to give us clear conceptions. Ignorance is to the mind what extreme darkneſs is to the nerves: both cauſe an uneaſy ſenſation; and we naturally love knowledge, as we love light, even when we have no deſign of applying either to a purpoſe eſſentially uſeful. This is intended as an apology for the pains which have been taken to procure a determinate anſwer to a queſtion of no apparent utility, but which ought to be readily anſwered in *India*, "What "is *Indian* Spikenard?" All agree, that it is an odoriferous plant, the beſt ſort of which, according to PTOLEMY, grew about *Rangamritíca* or *Rangamáti*, and on the borders of the

country now called *Butàn* : it is mentioned by DIOSCORIDES, whoſe work I have not in my poſſeſſion ; but his deſcription of it muſt be very imperfect, ſince neither LINNÆUS nor any of his diſciples pretend to claſs it with certainty, and, in the lateſt botanical work that we have received from *Europe*, it is marked as *unknown*. I had no doubt, before I was perſonally acquainted with KOENIG, that he had aſcertained it ; but he aſſured me, that he knew not what the *Greek* writers meant by the nard of *India* : he had found, indeed, and deſcribed a ſixth ſpecies of the nardus, which is called *Indian* in the Supplement to *Linnæus* ; but the *nardus* is a graſs, which, though it bear a *Spike*, no man ever ſuppoſed to be the *true* Spikenard, which the great Botanical Philoſopher himſelf was inclined to think a ſpecies of *Andropogon*, and places, in his *Materia Medica*, but with an expreſſion of doubt, among his polygamous plants. Since the death of KOENIG I have conſulted every botaniſt and phyſician with whom I was acquainted, on the ſubject before us ; but all have confeſſed without reſerve, though not without ſome regret, that they were ignorant what was meant by the *Indian* Spikenard.

IN order to procure information from the learned natives, it was neceſſary to know the

name

name of the plant in ſome *Aſiatick* language. The very word *nard* occurs in the Song of SOLOMON; but the name and the thing were both exotick: the *Hebrew* lexicographers imagine both to be *Indian*; but the word is in truth *Perſian*, and occurs in the following diſtich of an old poet:

A'n chu bíkheſt, ín chu nardeſt; án chu ſhákheſt, ín chu bàr,
A'n chu bíkhì páyidáreſt, ín chu nardì páyidàr.

IT is not eaſy to determine in this couplet, whether *nard* mean the *ſtem*, or, as ANJU' explains it, the *pith*; but it is manifeſtly a part of a vegetable, and neither the *root*, the *fruit*, nor the *branch*, which are all ſeparately named: the *Arabs* have borrowed the word *nard*, but in the ſenſe, as we learn from the *Kámús*, of a *compound medicinal unguent*. Whatever it ſignified in old *Perſian*, the *Arabick* word *ſumbul*, which, like *ſumbalah*, means an *ear* or *ſpike*, has long been ſubſtituted for it; and there can be no doubt, that by the *ſumbul* of *India* the *Muſelmáns* underſtand the ſame plant with the *nard* of PTOLEMY and the *Nardoſtachys*, or *Spikenard*, of GALEN; who, by the way, was deceived by the dry ſpecimens which he had ſeen, and miſtook them for *roots*.

A SINGULAR deſcription of the *ſumbul* by ABU'LFAZL, who frequently mentions it as an

ingredient in *Indian* perfumes, had for ſome time almoſt convinced me, that the *true Spikenard* was the *Cétaca*, or *Pandanus* of our botaniſts: his words are, *Sumbul panj berg dáred, ceh dirázi an dah angoſhteſtu pahnái seh*: or, "The *ſumbul* has "five leaves, ten fingers long, and three "broad." Now I well knew, that the miniſter of ACBAR was not a botaniſt, and might eaſily have miſtaken a thyrſus for a ſingle flower: I had ſeen no bloſſom, or aſſemblage of bloſſoms, of ſuch dimenſions, except the male *Cétaca*; and though the *Perſian* writer deſcribes the female as a different plant, by the vulgar name *Cyóra*, yet ſuch a miſtake might naturally have been expected in ſuch a work: but what moſt confirmed my opinion, was the exquiſite fragrance of the *Cétaca* flower, which to my ſenſe far ſurpaſſed the richeſt perfumes of *Europe* or *Aſia*. Scarce a doubt remained, when I met with a deſcription of the *Cétaca* by FORSKOHL, whoſe words are ſo perfectly applicable to the general idea which we are apt to form of *Spikenard*, that I give you a literal tranſlation of them: "The *Pandanus* is an incom"parable plant, and cultivated for its odour, "which it breathes ſo richly, that one or two "*Spikes*, in a ſituation rather humid, would "be ſufficient to diffuſe an odoriferous air for "a long time through a ſpacious apartment;

"ſo

" ſo that the natives in general are not ſolicit-
" ous about the living plants, but *purchaſe the*
" *Spikes at a great price.*" I learned alſo, that a fragrant eſſential oil was extracted from the flowers; and I procured from *Banáres* a large phial of it, which was adulterated with ſandal; but the very adulteration convinced me, that the genuine eſſence muſt be valuable, from the great number of thyrſi that muſt be required in preparing a ſmall quantity of it. Thus had I nearly perſuaded myſelf, that the true nard was to be found on the banks of the *Ganges*, where the *Hindu* women roll up its flowers in their long black hair after bathing in the holy river; and I imagined, that the *precious alabaſter box* mentioned in the Scripture, and the *ſmall onyx*, in exchange for which the poet offers to entertain his friend with *a caſk of old wine*, contained an eſſence of the ſame kind, though differing in its degree of purity, with the nard which I had procured: but an *Arab* of *Mecca*, who ſaw in my ſtudy ſome flowers of the *Cétaca*, informed me, that the plant was extremely common in *Arabia*, where it was named *Cádhì*; and ſeveral *Mahomedans* of rank and learning have ſince aſſured me, that the true name of the *Indian Sumbul* was not *Cétaca*, but *Jatámánsì*. This was important information; finding therefore, that the *Pandanus* was

not peculiar to *Hinduſtán*, and conſidering that the *Sumbul* of ABU'LFAZL differed from it in the preciſe number of leaves on the thyrſus, in the colour, and in the ſeaſon of flowering, though the length and breadth correſponded very nearly, I abandoned my firſt opinion, and began to inquire eagerly for the *Jatámánsì*, which grew, I was told, in the garden of a learned and ingenious friend, and fortunately was then in bloſſom. A freſh plant was very ſoon brought to me: it appeared on inſpection to be a moſt elegant *Cypirus* with a poliſhed three-ſided culm, an umbella with three or four enſiform leaflets minutely ſerrated, naked proliferous peduncles, crowded ſpikes, expanded daggers; and its branchy root had a pungent taſte with a faint aromatick odour; but no part of it bore the leaſt reſemblance to the drug known in *Europe* by the appellation of *Spikenard*; and a *Muſelmán* phyſician from *Dehli* aſſured me poſitively, that the plant was not *Jatámánsì*, but *Súd*, as it is named in *Arabick*, which the author of the *Tohfatu'l Múmenìn* particularly diſtinguiſhes, from the *Indian Sumbul*. He produced on the next day an extract from the Dictionary of Natural Hiſtory, to which he had referred; and I preſent you with a tranſlation of all that is material in it.

"1. SUD has a roundiſh olive-ſhaped root; "externally black, but white internally, and

"ſo

"ſo fragrant as to have obtained in *Perſia* the "name of *Subterranean Muſk*: its leaf has "ſome reſemblance to that of a leek, but is "longer and narrower, ſtrong, ſomewhat "rough at the edges, and tapering to a point. "2. SUMBUL means a *ſpike* or *ear*, and was "called *nard* by the *Greeks*. There are three "ſorts of *Sumbul* or *Nardìn*; but, when the "word ſtands alone, it means the *Sumbul* of "*India*, which is an herb *without flower or* "*fruit* (he ſpeaks of the drug only), like the "tail of an ermine, or of a ſmall weaſel, but "not quite ſo thick, and about the length of a "finger. It is darkiſh, inclining to yellow, "and very fragrant: it is brought from *Hinduſtán*, and its medicinal virtue laſts three "years." It was eaſy to procure the dry *Jatámánsì*, which correſponded perfectly with the deſcription of the *Sumbul*; and though a native *Muſelmàn* afterwards gave me a *Perſian* paper, written by himſelf, in which he repreſents the *Sumbul* of *India*, the *Sweet Sumbul*, and the *Jatámánsì* as three different plants, yet the authority of the *Tohfatu'l Múmenìn* is deciſive, that the *ſweet Sumbul* is only another denomination of nard, and the phyſician, who produced that authority, brought, as a ſpecimen of *Sumbul*, the very ſame drug, which my *Pandit*, who is alſo a phyſician, brought as a ſpecimen of the *Játamánsì*:

Jatámánsì: a *Bráhmen* of eminent learning gave me a parcel of the ſame ſort, and told me that it was uſed in their ſacrifices; that, when freſh, it was exquiſitely ſweet, and added much to the ſcent of rich eſſences, in which it was a principal ingredient; that the merchants brought it from the mountainous country to the north-eaſt of *Bengal*; that it was the entire plant, not a part of it, and received its *Sanſcrit* names from its reſemblance to *locks of hair*; as it is called *Spikenard*, I ſuppoſe, from its reſemblance to a Spike, when it is dried, and not from the configuration of its flowers, which the *Greeks*, probably, never examined. ' The *Perſian* author deſcribes the whole plant as reſembling the tail of an ermine; and the *Jatámánsì*, which is manifeſtly the *Spiknard* of our druggiſts, has preciſely that form, conſiſting of withered ſtalks and ribs of leaves, cohering in a bundle of yellowiſh brown capillary fibres, and conſtituting a ſpike about the ſize of a ſmall finger. We may on the whole be aſſured, that the *nardus* of PTOLEMY, the *Indian Sumbul* of the *Perſians* and *Arabs*, the *Jatámánsì* of the *Hindus*, and the *Spikenard* of our ſhops, are one and the ſame plant; but to what claſs and genus it belongs in the *Linnæan* ſyſtem, can only be aſcertained by an inſpection of the freſh bloſſoms. DR. PATRICK RUSSEL, who al-

ways

ways communicates with obliging facility his extenſive and accurate knowledge, informed me by letter, that "Spikenard is carried over the "Deſert (from *India* I preſume) to *Aleppo*, "where it is uſed in ſubſtance, mixed with "other perfumes, and worn in ſmall bags, or "in the form of eſſence, and kept in little boxes "or phials, like *âtar* of roſes." He is perſuaded, and ſo am I, that the *Indian* nard of the ancients, and that of our ſhops, is one and the ſame vegetable.

Though diligent reſearches have been made at my requeſt on the borders of *Bengal* and *Behàr*, yet the *Jatámánsì* has not been found growing in any part of the *Britiſh* territories. Mr. Saunders, who met with it in *Bután*, where, as he was informed, it is very common, and whence it is brought in a dry ſtate to *Rangpúr*, has no heſitation in pronouncing it a ſpecies of the *Baccharis*; and ſince it is not poſſible that he could miſtake the *natural* order and *eſſential character* of the plant, which he examined, I had no doubt that the *Jatámánsì* was compoſit and corymbiferous, with ſtamens connected by the anthers, and with female prolifick florets intermixed with hermaphrodites: the word *Spike* was not uſed by the ancients with botanical preciſion, and the *Stachys* itſelf is verticillated, with only two ſpecies out of fifteen, that could

could juſtify its generick appellation. I therefore concluded, that *the true Spikenard* was a *Baccharis*, and that, while the philoſopher had been ſearching for it to no purpoſe,

> ——————————— the dull ſwain
> Trod on it daily with his clouted ſhoon;

for the *Baccharis*, it ſeems, as well as the *Conyza*, is called by our gardeners, *Ploughman's Spikenard.* I ſuſpected, nevertheleſs, that the plant which Mr. SAUNDERS deſcribed was not *Jatámánsì*, becauſe I knew that the people of *Bután* had no ſuch name for it, but diſtinguiſhed it by very different names in different parts of their hilly country: I knew alſo, that the *Butías*, who ſet a greater value on the drug than it ſeems, as a perfume, to merit, were extremely reſerved in giving information concerning it, and might be tempted, by the narrow ſpirit of monopoly, to miſlead an inquirer for the freſh plant. The friendly zeal of Mr. PURLING will probably procure it in a ſtate of vegetation; for, when he had the kindneſs, at my deſire, to make inquiries for it among the *Bután* merchants, they aſſured him, that the living plants could not be obtained without an order from their ſovereign the *Dévarájà*, to whom he immediately diſpatched a meſſenger with an earneſt requeſt, that eight

or

or ten of the growing plants might be ſent to him at *Rangpùr* : ſhould the *Dévarájà* comply with that requeſt, and ſhould the vegetable flouriſh in the plain of *Bengal*, we ſhall have ocular proof of its claſs, order, genus, and ſpecies ; and, if it prove the ſame with the *Jatámánsì* of *Népàl*, which I now muſt introduce to your acquaintance, the queſtion, with which I began this eſſay, will be ſatisfactorily anſwered.

HAVING traced the *Indian* Spikenard, by the name of *Jatámánsì*, to the mountains of *Népàl*, I requeſted my friend Mr. LAW, who then reſided at *Gayá*, to procure ſome of the recent plants by the means of the *Népaleſe* pilgrims ; who being orthodox *Hindus*, and poſſeſſing many rare books in the *Sanſcrit* language, were more likely than the *Butìas* to know the true *Jatámánsì*, by which name they generally diſtinguiſh it : many young plants were accordingly ſent to *Gayà*, with a *Perſian* letter ſpecifically naming them, and apparently written by a man of rank and literature ; ſo that no ſuſpicion of deception or of error can be juſtly entertained. By a miſtake of the gardener, they were *all* planted at *Gayá*, where they have bloſſomed, and at firſt ſeemed to flouriſh : I muſt, therefore, deſcribe the *Jatámánsì* from the report of Mr. BURT, who favoured me with a drawing of

of it, and in whoſe accuracy we may perfectly confide; but, before I produce the deſcription, I muſt endeavour to remove a prejudice, in regard to the *natural order* of the ſpikenard, which they, who are addicted to ſwear by every word of their maſter LINNÆUS, will hardly abandon, and which I, who love truth better than him, have abandoned with ſome reluctance. *Nard* has been generally ſuppoſed to be a *graſs*; and the word *ſtachys* or *ſpike*, which agrees with the habit of that natural order, gave riſe, perhaps, to the ſuppoſition. There is a plant in *Java*, which moſt travellers and ſome phyſicians call *ſpikenard*; and the Governor of *Chinſura*, who is kindly endeavouring to procure it thence in a ſtate fit for examination, writes me word, that "a *Dutch* author pro-"nounces it a *graſs like the Cypirus*, but inſiſts "that what we call the *ſpike* is the fibrous part "above the root, as long as a man's little fin-"ger, of a browniſh hue inclining to red or "yellow, rather fragrant, and with a pungent, "but aromatick, ſcent." This is too ſlovenly a deſcription to have been written by a botaniſt; yet I believe the latter part of it to be tolerably correct, and ſhould imagine that the plant was the ſame with our *Jatámánsì*, if it were not commonly aſſerted, that the *Javan* ſpikenard was uſed as a condiment, and if a well-

well-informed man, who had ſeen it in the iſland, had not aſſured me, that it was a ſort of *Pimento*, and conſequently a ſpecies of *Myrtle*, and of the order now called *Heſperian*. The reſemblance before mentioned between the *Indian Sumbul* and the *Arabian Súd*, or *Cypirus*, had led me to ſuſpect, that the true nard was a *graſs* or a *reed*; and as this country abounds in *odoriferous graſſes*, I began to collect them from all quarters. Colonel KYD obligingly ſent me two plants with ſweet-ſmelling roots; and as they were known to the *Pandits*, I ſoon found their names in a *Sanſcrit* dictionary: one of them is called *gandhasat'hì*, and uſed by the *Hindus* to ſcent the red powder of *Sapan* or *Bakkam* wood, which they ſcatter in the feſtival of the vernal ſeaſon; the other has many names, and, among them, *nágaramaſtac* and *gónarda*, the ſecond of which means *ruſtling in the water*; for all the *Pandits* inſiſt, that *nard* is never uſed as a noun in *Sanſcrit*, and ſignifies, as the root of a verb, *to ſound* or *to ruſtle*. Soon after, Mr. BURROW brought me, from the banks of the *Ganges* near *Heridwàr*, a very fragrant graſs, which in ſome places covers whole acres, and diffuſes, when cruſhed, ſo ſtrong an odour, that a perſon, he ſays, might eaſily have ſmelt it, as ALEXANDER is reported to have ſmelt the nard of *Gedroſia*, from the back of an elephant; its bloſſoms

were

were not preſerved, and it cannot, therefore, be deſcribed. From Mr. BLANE of *Lucnów* I received a freſh plant, which has not flowered at *Calcutta* ; but I rely implicitly on his authority, and have no doubt that it is a ſpecies of *Andropogon*: it has rather a rank aromatick odour, and, from the virtue aſcribed to it of curing intermittent fevers, is known by the *Sanſcrit* name of *jwarāncusa*, which literally means a *fever-hook*, and alludes to the *iron-hook* with which elephants are managed. Laſtly, Dr. ANDERSON of *Madras*, who delights in uſeful purſuits and in aſſiſting the purſuits of others, favoured me with a complete ſpecimen of the *Andropogon Nardus*, one of the moſt common graſſes on the Coaſt, and flouriſhing moſt luxuriantly on the mountains, never eaten by cattle, but extremely grateful to bees, and containing an eſſential oil, which, he underſtands, is extracted from it in many parts of *Hinduſtàn*, and uſed as an *átar* or *perfume*. He adds a very curious philological remark, that, in the *Tamul* dictionary, moſt words beginning with *nár* have ſome relation to *fragrance* ; as *nárukeradu* to yield an odour, *nártum pillu*, lemon-graſs, *nártei*, citron, *nárta manum*, the wild orange-tree, *nárum panei*, the *Indian Jaſmin*, *nárum alleri*, a ſtrong ſmelling flower, and *nártu*, which is put for *nard* in the *Tamul*

verſion

verſion of our Scriptures: ſo that not only the *nard* of the *Hebrews* and *Greeks*, but even the *copia narium* of HORACE, may be derived from an *Indian* root: to this I can only ſay, that I have not met with any ſuch root in *Sanſcrit*, the oldeſt poliſhed language of *India*, and that in *Perſian*, which has a manifeſt affinity with it, *nár* means a *pomegranate*, and *nárgìl* (a word originally *Sanſcrit*) a *cocoa-nut*, neither of which has any remarkable fragrance.

SUCH is the evidence in ſupport of the opinion, given by the great *Swediſh* naturaliſt, that the true nard was a gramineous plant and a ſpecies of *Andropogon*; but ſince no graſs, that I have yet ſeen, bears any reſemblance to the *Jatamánsì*, which I conceive to be the *nardus* of the ancients, I beg leave to expreſs my diſſent, with ſome confidence as a philologer, though with humble diffidence as a ſtudent in botany. I am not, indeed, of opinion, that the *nardum* of the *Romans* was merely the eſſential oil of the plant, from which it was denominated, but am ſtrongly inclined to believe, that it was a *generick* word, meaning what we now call *átar*, and either the *átar* of roſes from *Caſhmír* and *Perſia*, that of *Cétaca*, or *Pandanus*, from the weſtern coaſt of *India*, or that of *Aguru*, or aloe-wood, from *Aſám* or *Cochinchina*, the proceſs of obtaining which is deſcribed by ABU'LFAZL, or the mixed perfume called *ábír*, of which the principal ingredients

were yellow ſandal, violets, orange-flowers, wood of aloes, roſe-water, muſk, and true ſpikenard: all thoſe eſſences and compoſitions were coſtly; and moſt of them being ſold by the *Indians* to the *Perſians* and *Arabs*, from whom, in the times of OCTAVIUS, they were received by the *Syrians* and *Romans*, they muſt have been extremely dear at *Jeruſalem* and at *Rome*. There might alſo have been a pure *nardine oil*, as ATHENÆUS calls it; but *nardum* probably meant (and KOENIG was of the ſame opinion) an *Indian* eſſence *in general*, taking its name from that ingredient which had, or was commonly thought to have, the moſt exquiſite ſcent. But I have been drawn by a pleaſing ſubject to a greater length than I expected, and proceed to the promiſed deſcription of the *true nard*, or *Jatámánsi*, which, by the way, has other names in the *Amarcóſh*, the ſmootheſt of which are *jatilá* and *lómaſà*, both derived from words meaning *hair*. Mr. BURT, after a modeſt apology for his imperfect acquaintance with the language of botaniſts, has favoured me with an account of the plant, on the correctneſs of which I have a perfect reliance, and from which I collect the following *natural characters*:

AGGREGATE.

Cal. Scarce any. *Margin*, hardly diſcernible.

Cor.

Cor. One petal. *Tube* ſomewhat gibbous. *Border* five cleft.

Stam. Three *Anthers*.

Piſt. *Germ* beneath. One *Style* erect.

Seed Solitary, crowned with a pappus.

Root Fibrous.

Leaves Hearted, fourfold; *radical* leaves petioled.

It appears, therefore, to be the *Protean* plant VALERIAN, a ſiſter of the Mountain and *Celtick* Nard, and of a ſpecies which I ſhould deſcribe in the *Linnean* ſtyle, VALERIANA JATAMANSI *floribus triandris foliis cordatis quaternis, radicalibus petiolatis*. The radical leaves, riſing from the ground and enfolding the young ſtem, are plucked up with a part of the root, and, being dried in the ſun, or by an artificial heat, are ſold as a drug, which from its appearance has been called *ſpikenard*; though, as the *Perſian* writer obſerves, it might be compared more properly to the *tail of an ermine*: when nothing remains but the dry fibres of the leaves, which retain their original form, they have ſome reſemblance to a *lock of hair*, from which the *Sanſcrit* name, it ſeems, is derived. Two mercantile agents from *Butan* on the part of the *Devaraja* were examined, at my requeſt, by Mr. HARINGTON, and informed him, that the drug which the *Bengaleſe* call *Jatamansi*, "grew erect above "the

" the ſurface of the ground, reſembling in " colour an ear of green wheat; that, when " recent, it had a faint odour, which was " greatly increaſed by the ſimple proceſs of " drying it; that it abounded on the hills, and " even on the plains, of *Bután*, where it was " collected and prepared for medicinal pur- " poſes." What its virtues are, experience alone can aſcertain; but, as far as botanical analogy can juſtify a conjecture, we may ſuppoſe them to be antiſpaſmodick; and in our provinces, eſpecially in *Behar*, the plant will probably flouriſh; ſo that we may always procure it in a ſtate fit for experiment. On the propoſed enquiry into the virtues of this celebrated plant, I muſt be permitted to ſay, that although many botaniſts may have waſted their time in enumerating the qualities of vegetables, without having aſcertained them by repeated and ſatisfactory experiments, and although *mere botany* goes no farther than technical arrangement and deſcription, yet it ſeems indubitable, that the great end and aim of a botanical philoſopher is, to diſcover and prove the ſeveral uſes of the vegetable ſyſtem, and, while he admits with HIPPOCRATES the *fallaciouſneſs of experience*, to rely on experiment alone as the baſis of his knowledge.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.